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ancient and modern, and from the most accurate
and inquisitive Travellers to all Parts of the World.

TREATING

Of the most remarkable Conquests, Insurrections,
and Revolutions, that have happened in several
Kingdoms.



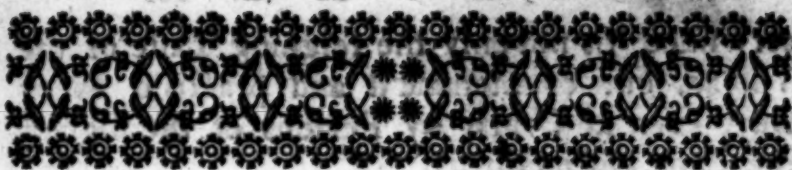
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TO THE READER.

HO' Indolence and Inactivity are the
greatest Dishonour to human Nature,
the Dream of Life, and the fatal In-
let to all Misfortunes; and tho' In-
dustry and Application are their direct Opposites,
and the only natural Means to any extraordinary
Acquisitions; yet the Mind cannot bear to be al-
ways upon the Stretch; and 'tis as highly requi-
site, that some proper Employments should be
found out for it in its Relaxations, as convenient
Food, at proper Seasons, for the Refreshment of
the Body.

THERE are some Amusements, however,
which, tho' innocent in themselves, may prove
fatal in their Consequences, if too much indulg'd
by such Gentlemen and Ladies, whose Time
may seem to hang over-heavy on their Hands,
and ought, for that Reason, to be check'd with
the utmost Precaution; or rather, indeed, be
absolutely avoided, as the first Step to utter
Ruin and Destruction. And here GAMING,
we think, may justly come under our Cen-
sure, as being a Vice which is too apt to steal
upon the Inclinations of both Sexes, (especially
where they are avaricious in their natural Tem-
per)

P R E F A C E.

per) since 'tis not only the reigning Taste of the Vulgar, but countenanc'd and practis'd every Day, even at Court, by Persons of the highest Rank and Distinction.

A CIRCLE of Gentlemen and Ladies can never surely appear in a more disadvantageous Light, than round a Card, or Hazard-Table, where the Rattlings of the Dice, and a few Game-phrases, are all the Conversation that passes between them for several Hours successively; and where the most artful Endeavours to over-reach at least, if not altogether dishonourably to defraud their very best Friends, is the principal Study of the whole Night.

How much more agreeable, how much more innocent, as well as useful, an Amusement would it be, for either Gentlemen or Ladies to spend their Leisure Hours in instructive Conversation!

By such a Practice, their Time could, with no Propriety, be said to be either murdered or mispent; for thereby the Bow would be unbent in the most agreeable Manner, their Virtues would thereby be strengthen'd, their Passions allay'd, and their vacant Hours very rationally employ'd.

DIVERS others Amusements might be mentioned, which are not only innocent, rational, and allowable, but ought, at convenient Times, to be indulged, rather than the Mind should be idle, and liable to be misguided by every Passion that may otherwise ruffle and discompose it.

HERE



P R E F A C E.

HERE we might recommend our best and most moral theatrical Performances to the younger and gayer Part of our Readers; as also Walking and Dancing in a Winter's Evening, as both of them contribute very greatly towards the Health and Activity of the Body; and as the latter, in particular, is too great an Accomplishment to be totally neglected.

To these Amusements we might here add two more, namely, Musick and Painting, as they are Diversions, or rather Accomplishments, that refine the Taste, and add an inexpressible Beauty and Lustre to the Mind.

Of all the Diversions of Life, however, there is no one, in our humble Opinion, in every Respect, so interesting and instructive, no one so truly rational and agreeable, as READING.

Now, since there are too many voluminous Romances, which, at this present Juncture, seem the favourite Amusements even of the Polite, tho' similar in Reality, and of as little Use, as the old antiquated Stories of *Tom Hick-a-thrift*, and *Jack the Giant-killer*; and some of them, moreover, more immoral and immodest; the Editors humbly hope, that the historical Amusements, contain'd in the following Sheets, will meet with a favourable Reception from the Publick, as they are genuine and impartial Accounts of real Facts, and no wild Imaginations of a giddy Brain; and all extracted from such Authors only, whose Characters, for Veracity and Impartiality, are unquestionable, and entirely to be relied on; and whose Compositions are too well

P R E F A C E.

well known to the learned World to need any formal or forced Recommendation.

AND as the Editors humbly imagine, that these miscellaneous Amusements will be deemed no ways unworthy of the Attention of the most Curious and Inquisitive; and as dear Variety is the universal Darling of both Sexes, they have taken peculiar Care to introduce no Narrative of any tedious Length, nor any one, but what has something of Morality and real Improvement, as well as Novelty and Brevity, to render it palatable, without casting a Veil over any of the Beauties of the Authors that have been consulted, by too severe an Abridgment.

IN a Word, as such particular Care has been taken, that no Narrative should be introduced, that has any one Incident in it, either immoral or profane; or any one Expression, that may raise a Blush in the most modest of the Fair Sex, the Editors flatter themselves, that this WINTER EVENING'S COMPANION will not only meet with a favourable Reception; but that a Continuation (on the same Plan) will be deemed an acceptable Service to the Publick.



THE



THE
CONTENTS.



CHAP. I.
The Conquest of *China* by the *Tartars*, Page 1

CHAP. II.
The Conquest of *Mexico* by the *Spaniards*, 27

CHAP. III.
The Revolution of *Siam*, 43

CHAP. IV.
The Revolution of *Portugal* in the Year 1640, 55

CHAP. V.
The Insurrection and Revolution of *Constantinople* in the Year 1730, 76

CHAP. VI.
The *Neapolitan* Insurrection in the Year 1647, 96

CHAP. VIII.
The Insurrection and Rebellion in and about the
City of *London*, in the Year 1381. 151
CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. VIII.

The Insurrection at the *Hague*, with the Massacre of the two Brothers, *John* and *Cornelius de Witt*, Page 122.

CHAP. IX.

The Insurrection at the City of *Moscow* in the Year 1608, 129

CHAP. X.

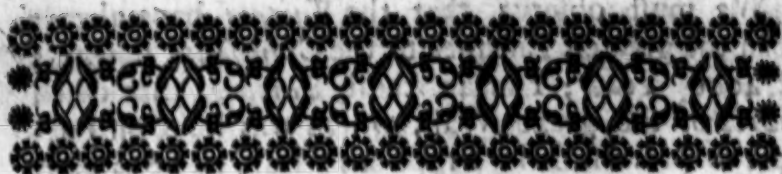
The Insurrection at the City of *Moscow* in the Year 1678, 133

CHAP. XI.

The Conspiracy of the *Spaniards* against the Republick of *Venice*. 146



THE



THE
Winter's Evening Entertainment.

BOOK I.
*Of the most remarkable Conquests and Re-
volutions that have happened in several
Parts of the World.*

CHAP. I.

Of the Conquest of China by the Tartars.

THE Empire of *China* is a spacious
Country, divided into fifteen large Ter-
ritories, distinguished by the Northern
and Southern Empire: In the first are
nine, and in the last are six Territories.
These two Parts are divided by the River *Kiang*, i. e.
The Son of the Ocean.

There is not a Country so well fortified by Art and
Nature as *China*; for Southwards it has so many
Islands, Rocks, and Sand-Banks, that on that Side
a Ship cannot enter without the utmost Danger:
South-West are the *Damafian* Mountains, and thick
Forests, which part and shelter it from *Asia*; between
West and North are the large Defarts of *Samo*, which
secure them from any Attempt that Way; and fur-
ther towards the North is the long Wall, which ac-
cording to the *European* Era, was built 215 Years
before the Birth of Christ.

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2 The WINTER'S EVENING

We must observe, that the *Tartars* have always been the greatest Enemies to the *Chinese* for upwards of 4000 Years; I mean those *Tartars*, that dwell North of the great Wall, which was built on Purpose to prevent their Irruptions: But, to be as short as possible, I shall only trace the Wars of the *Tartars* with the *Chinese* from the Year of the *Christian* *Æra* 1206, when the former entered *China*, and carried on a War, which lasted to the Year 1278, about which Time that vast Empire was subdued, the Imperial Race then upon the Throne extinguished, and a *Tartar* Prince elevated thereon.

From the Race of this *Tartarian* Prince, the Country was governed for 70 Years in Peace; but in Length of Time the *Tartars* in *China*, living an indolent Life, lost the natural Vigour and Courage of their Ancestors; they minded more their Pleasures and Diversions, than the Exercise of their Arms, and thereby rendered themselves contemptible to the *Chinese*, who naturally hated them.

One *Hugh*, a mean Fellow, and Native of *China*, touched with the Miseries of his Country, raised a Rebellion: He first turned Highwayman, and after he had collected a large Sum of Money, enlisted a great Number of Men; and being of a generous, bold, and enterprizing Genius, he quickly mustered a numerous Army, which he commanded in chief. He fell upon the *Tartars*, gained many Victories, and in 1368 drove them out of *China*, upon which the *Chinese* presented him with the Imperial Diadem, as a Reward for his heroick Exploits, in freeing them from the Yoke of Foreigners.

He was the first Emperor of the *Taiming* Family, and named himself *Hungua*, or the *Brave Warrior*, and fixed his Residence at *Nanking*.

After he had settled the Affairs of State in his Country, he pursued the *Tartars*, routed them, and obliged them to lay down their Arms, and crave a dishonourable Peace.

The *Tartars* thus expelled, settled in the Province of *Niucke*, from whence they trafficked into *China*: They multiplied, and in a few Years became several

Hords,

ENTERTAINMENT. 3

Hords, or Governments, which often quarrelling and fighting together, at last in 1550 united, and became one Kingdom.

The *Taiming* Race had now governed the Empire in Peace for 250 Years; but the *Chinese*, ever jealous of the *Tartars*, foreseeing that the Increase of them in their new-erected Kingdom of *Niucke* indicated no Good to them, they contrived and thought upon Stratagems how to curb their Growth.

The first Thing the *Chinese* did was, to affront and misuse the *Tartarian* Merchants of *Niucke*; they also prevented a Marriage, intended between the *Tartar* King and a *Tartar* Princess; but what was worse, they took the King of *Niucke* by Treachery, and murdered him.

These Outrages filled the *Tartar* Prince, Son to the deceased King, with Revenge; he gathered an Army, got over the Wall, and the Rivers being frozen, he passed them, entered the Country of *China* Sword in Hand, and took the great City *Taxan* in 1616.

From thence the *Tartar* King sent a very submissive Letter to the Emperor of *China*, declaring therein, that he had invaded his Country to do himself Justice, from the Wrong he had suffered by his Governors, and that he was ready to cease Hostilities, upon any reasonable Terms: The Emperor imprudently made slight of the Affair, and left it to the Management of the Ministers of State, and Governors; who, resenting the Complaint made by the *Tartar* against them, sent him no Answer.

The *Tartar* King was, upon this Affront, so enraged, that he vowed to solemnize his Father's Obsequies with the Blood of Two hundred thousand *Chinese*; and pursuant to this Vow, he besieged the City *Leanking*, with 50,000 Men, and made himself Master of it in a few Days. Upon this Success, the *Tartarian* Army, like a Torrent, bore down all before them, which so terrified the *Chinese*, that they fled, and abandoned the Cities for the *Tartars* to enter; who, after they had collected immense Riches, returned to *Leanking*. They fortified that City with new
A 2
Walls,

4 *The* WINTER'S EVENING

Walls, and the *Tartar* King was there proclaimed Emperor of *China*, although he had but a small share of it.

The *Chinese*, in the mean Time, got together an Army of 600,000 Men; they marched to engage in Battle with the *Tartars*; both Armies met, and fought obstinately, which made it dubious which Side would gain the Victory; at last the *Chinese* were worsted, and there were 50,000 Men, with their chief Commanders, left dead in the Field of Battle. The *Tartars* pursued their Victory, and the same Day sack'd and burned two Cities, advancing even to the Walls of *Peking*, the Emperor's Residence; but knowing that there were 80,000 Men in Garrison, and the Place well provided with Artillery, they did not think it proper to besiege it. In the mean Time, the whole Court and the Inhabitants were in such a Consternation and Confusion, that it would have been an easy Matter to have taken it, but they pursued their Prey, plunder'd the Country, and returned victorious to their Rendezvous at *Leanking*.

Not long after the Emperor *Vauley* died, and his Son *Taichangus* succeeded him, who, after he had reigned four Months, died also.

Thenkin, Son to the late Emperor, mounted the Throne, though but very young, with great Prudence. He sent an Ambassador to the King of *Corea*, to thank him for the Assistance he had given his Grandfather, by sending him Succours, desiring him to continue his Favour to him. He then raised fresh Recruits, and sent a powerful Army to the Province of *Leaotung*, to stop the farther Progress of the *Tartars*; he also equipped a numerous Fleet to carry Provisions to the Army.

Among such as came to succour him from the neighbouring Countries, was the Princess of *Suchue*, who left her Son, a Minor, in his own Kingdom, and supplied his Place in this War, at the Head of 3000 of her own Sex, who were all armed, and who, like *Amazons*, gave many signal Proofs of their Bravery and Expertness in martial Affairs.

The

ENTERTAINMENT. 5

The Christian Missionaries advised the Emperor to treat with the *Portuguese* at *Macao* for some Cannon and Engineers, which was accepted, and the *Portuguese* were ready to send all Manner of warlike Stores; but before they could have them from *Portugal*, the *Tartars* were all drove out of *Leaotung*, and the Citizens opened the Gates at the Appearance of the Emperor's Army. The *Tartar* King, being engaged in some other Quarrels, could not send them Relief; but as soon as he was free of them, he sent 60,000 Horse, besieged the City of *Leaotung* again, and took it in two Days. The Contention was so sharp, that 30,000 of the Garrison, and 20,000 of the *Tartars*, were slain. The *Chinese* Governor was accused of Bribery, and the Viceroy hanged himself for Grief: The Emperor's Visitor, rather than bestow the Title of King upon the Barbarian, strangled himself; though for his brave Fidelity to his Prince, the Enemy had given him his Life and Liberty.

The City being thus taken, the *Tartar* King issued out a Proclamation, that such as would cut their Hair, and wear the *Tartarian* Habit, should live.

This treacherous Tyrant, finding that many rich Merchants resided in that City from other Provinces, gave them Leave to depart with their Effects, which they presently accepted of; but, being upon the Road, they were set upon, murdered, and their Effects carried back to the City.

After this Exploit, the *Tartars* lay still for some Time; but at Length, resolving to take the City of *Ninguy*, they laid Siege to it; but it was relieved by the *Chinese*, who slew 10,000 *Tartars*, and among the rest, the Son of the *Tartar* King. The Enemy, enraged at this, crossed the *Frozen Sea*, fell upon the Island *Thaoyve*, slew 10,000 Men of the Garrison, and then returned to *Tartary* to recruit their Forces, and lay quiet to the Year 1627: About this Time, the Emperor *Thienkin* died, and the King of the *Tartars* was assassinated.

Zungchin, Brother to the deceased Emperor, succeeded, and *Thienzung*, Son to the late *Tartar* King, succeeded his Father, who treated the *Chinese* with Mildness and good Nature.

6 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

The *Chinese* Soldiers, for Want of Action, grew insolent, and committed several Disorders and Rapines, which so enraged the *Coreans*, their Allies, that they secretly invited the *Tartars* to fall upon them. They readily came, cloathed in the *Corean* Dress, the better to impose upon the *Chinese*, who not being provided against the Attack, were soon put in Disorder, dispersed, and many of them slain; they then turned their Arms against the treacherous *Coreans*, slew and dispersed them, and entering the Northern Provinces, ravaged and pillaged them in an Instant.

The King of *Corea*, and *Maowenlungu*, the *Chinese* General, both recruited their Armies, resolving to stop the Career of the *Tartars*: Both Armies engaged with them in Battle; and the latter seeing themselves surrounded, fought desperately, so that none of the three Armies could boast of Victory; 50,000 were missing of the *Tartars*; the *Coreans* lost 70,000 Men, and but few of the *Chinese* escaped. The *Tartars* nevertheless made frequent Inroads in the Eastern Parts of *China*; but the *Portuguese*, having sent seven expert Engineers to the Assistance of the *Chinese*, proved of great Service to them, and mightily advanced their Affairs.

The Emperor *Zungchin* about that Time sent *Yvenu*, a new General, with fresh Forces, to propose Peace to the *Tartar* King, intending to suppress some domestick Evils which had arose from a Band of Vagabonds in the troublesome Times. *Yvenu* was a cunning, crafty Knave, and by his Eloquence and persuasive Tongue, gained all the Confidence he could desire of the *Chinese*; but when he came before the *Tartar* King, he proved a Traytor both to his King and Country, only for the Sake of *Tartarian* Gold. The first Act of his Treachery was, in poisoning *Maowenlungu*, the *Chinese* General, when as a Friend he had invited him to a Feast. In the next Place, he patched up a dishonourable Peace with the *Tartars*, which the Emperor refused to ratify. *Yvenu* was not baulked at this, but invited the *Tartars* to enter *China* in 1630 by another Rout, and promised them not to obstruct their March. The *Tartars*, confiding
in

ENTERTAINMENT. 7

In him, entered the Province of *Peking*, and besieged the King's Court: The Emperor was advised to leave that City, and retire, but he resolved to stay, and see the Event at all Hazards. The *Tartars* made several furious Assaults, but were valiantly repulsed. *Yvenu* had the Command for repulsing the Enemy, his Treachery not being yet discovered: He obeys the Order; and marches with the Forces under his Command up to the Walls, which were of a prodigious Extent; but he acting slowly, constantly advising the Emperor to accept of the Peace, made the Emperor discover his Villainy: Upon this he was tried, found guilty, and executed. The *Tartars*, being informed of this, ravaged the Country, and returned to their Residence at *Leaotung*.

Till the Year 1636, the *Tartars* were generally worsted by the *Chinese*, when *Thienzungus*, King of the *Tartars*, died, and was succeeded by his Son *Zungieus*, the Grandfather of the present Emperor of *China*.

This Prince had, from his Youth, embraced the *Chinese* Principles and Morals, and had learned their Language: He had in View the Imperial Throne, and to ascend it, took very cautious Steps; he behaved to the *Chinese* with the greatest Civility, and treated the Prisoners of that Nation with Mildness and Humanity. The Fame of his mild Behaviour drew to him a great many *Chinese* Officers for Protection, to which they were induced by the cruel Maxims of the *Chinese*, in sacrificing those Officers who had been unsuccessful in their Post. By these Means, and through their Assistance, he soon got his Aim, and became a Sovereign of that vast Empire.

Things then went pretty quiet; the Western Part of *Leaotung* was well defended, and secured against the *Tartars* making any Insurrections, and all would have gone well in *China*, had not a heavy Evil rose in this Empire's own Bowels, from the Multitude of Thieves and Vagabonds with which the Country swarmed, and who betrayed themselves to their common Enemy, the *Tartars*.

They

8 The WINTER'S EVENING

They first began their Outrages in the Country of *Suechuen*, where they pillaged most Cities and Towns, laid Siege to *Cingtu*, the Capital of that Province, and were like to take it, had it not been seasonably relieved.

Another Company of these Rovers assembled in the Province of *Queicheu*, but they were soon quelled: About this Time a Famine increased in the Countries of *Xenfi* and *Xentung*, occasioned by the Multitude of Locusts. A Parcel of idle Fellows took this Opportunity to plunder the People; and, their Numbers increasing did Abundance of Mischief; nor did the Emperor's Avarice and Exactions on his Subjects a little contribute to augment this Sedition.

These Thieves got at length to such a Head, that there were no less than eight Armies in several Countries; each made the bravest among them their Commander, and each aimed at nothing less than the Empire itself.

At first they fought one against another, by which their Commanders being reduced to two, the rest enlisted under their Banner; the Names of these chief Ruffians were *Licungzu* and *Ghanghienchungu*, who agreed each to pursue their different Fortune; accordingly the one marched one Way into the Country, and the other another.

In 1641, *Licungzu* having plundered the Province of *Xenfi*, invaded the delightful Province of *Honan*; they besieged the Capital *Caisung*, but being obliged to raise the Siege, they destroyed the Country with Fire and Sword; and when by their Plunders they had amassed prodigious Quantities of Provision and Corn, and recruited their Armies with fresh Companies of rascally Fellows, they returned to their Siege; but finding they could not take it by Assault, they turned it into a Blockade, and by that Means reduced the City to the last Extremity. The Famine among them was so great, that a Pound of Rice was worth a Pound of Silver, and a Pound of an old rotten Skin sold for ten Crowns; Human Flesh was exposed to Sale in the Market like Hog's Flesh; and it

was

ENTERTAINMENT. 9

was reckoned an Act of Piety, to give up the Dead for the Sustainance of the Living.

This City is situated on the South-side of a rapid River, about a League from the Town, where at last the Emperor's Army arrived, with an Intent to raise the Siege, and relieve the City. They took a View of the Situation of the Country round, and thought the easiest Way to raise the Siege would be, by making a Breach in the Banks of the River, and turning the Water upon the Enemy to drown them. This was in Autumn; the River was prodigiously swelled by great Rains; and they, making the Inlets too large, gave Way to such a Torrent of Water, as overflowed the Walls of the City, and drowned 300,000 of its Inhabitants, together with Abundance of its Enemies. This happened in *October* 1642, when the Vagabond Captain took upon him the Title of King. Having possessed himself of the Province of *Honan*, he returned to the Province of *Xensi*, and reduced it; he took the Capital in three Days Time, and gave it for Plunder to his Soldiers. Being thus elevated, he assumed the Title of Emperor, but governed the People with the greatest Humanity, kept a strict Discipline, and good Order among his Soldiers, eased the People of their Taxes; and thus by his mild Behaviour, induced them to submit easily to his Government.

A third Cause of this Emperor's Ruin arose from a Faction at Court, occasioned by the Emperor's promoting the Eunuch *Gueio* to the highest Post of Honour and Grandeur at Court. This Man had by his Greatness attracted withal so malignant a Disposition, that on the least Provocation, Persons of the first Rank were degraded. The Emperor finding that the Aim of *Gueio* was only bent to perplex his Government, and to divide the Ministry, thought upon Ways and Means to put him out of the Way; for which End, under Pretence of bestowing great Honours upon him, he sent him to visit the Tombs of his Ancestors, and to see if they wanted any Repair; but before he was got on his Journey, a Silver Box was presented him,

10 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

him, in which, upon opening, he found a Halter of Silk, which gave him to understand the Emperor's Pleasure, *viz.* to hang himself; and this being an honourable Death, he submitted to it: But hereby also new Factions were raised, and a treacherous Correspondence was held with the Army of the Thieves.

Licungxu, in the mean while, having settled his Affairs in *Xenfi*, marched Eastwards, and advanced as far as the great River *Groceu*; and finding no Obstruction, he pass'd it with Ease, and took *Kianchen*, the chief and most opulent City in that Country: He likewise seized upon all the Cities and Towns thereabouts, meeting with no Opposition, except from the City *Tbaiquen*, which however was soon taken, and paid dear for resisting.

The Emperor, understanding what Progress the Russians had made, and that they were approaching the Province of his Residence, sent the Lord *Marshal* of *China* to obstruct their Career; but most of his Soldiers deserting to the Thieves, he became so enraged, that, to prevent a farther Disgrace, he hang-ed himself. Upon this ill Success, the Emperor thought of retiring from *Peking*, and to take up his Residence at *Nanking*; but he was dissuaded from it by his Counsellors.

The Captain of the Thieves lost no Time; and, to pursue his Purpose, disguised some of his Soldiers, gave them Money to trade in trifling Things, and so sent them into the City to sow Sedition and raise Tumults. By these Means, he kept a Correspondence with the Lieutenant of the City, and in a short Time besieged it: There was indeed a strong Garrison in the City, and Abundance of Artillery; but charged only with Powder, in that Quarter which the Enemy assaulted.

Thus secured from Opposition, they entered the Metropolis of all *China* in 1644, by a Gate which was opened for them, and found but little Resistance, till they came near the Emperor's Palace, which being but weakly defended by a few faithful Eunuchs, they entered triumphant; but what was most incredible

ENTERTAINMENT. 11

dible was, that the Enemy was advanced to the Heart of the City, before the Emperor knew it, being kept in Ignorance by his treacherous Eunuchs. Upon hearing the Disaster, he asked, whether there was any Room left for escape; but understanding that there was none, he wrote a Letter with his own Blood, wherein he bitterly exclaimed against the Perfidy of his Subjects, conjuring *Licungxu* to avenge him on those vile Traytors; and having a Daughter that was marriageable, he beheaded her with his own Hands, lest she should be abused by her Enemies: After this he went into the Orchard, and hanged himself with his Garter on a Plumb-Tree: Thus, with his Death, ended the Reign of the illustrious Family of *Taimingiu*. The Queen and some faithful Eunuchs followed his Example; which was no less fatal in the City, where many of the Inhabitants destroyed themselves, to shew their Fidelity to their Prince.

Licungxu, having thus gain'd this Place, as soon as he entered the Palace, ascended the imperial Throne, but sat with a visible Trembling and Uneasiness thereon; as if it prognosticated the short Duration of his Dignity.

Next Day he ordered the Body of the Emperor to be cut to Pieces, charging him with Cruelty and Oppression. Three Days after, two of the Emperor's Sons were beheaded; but the Eldest being missing, great Search was made after him, tho' to no Purpose. Not satisfied with this, he tortured many of the Magistrates to Death, and gave the City to be plundered by his Soldiers, who committed such horrid and abominable Cruelties, as are too shocking to be told.

Among the Magistrates that were imprison'd, was one *Us*, a venerable old Man, whose Son was Captain-General of the Forces of *China*, then on the Borders of *Leatung*, opposite to the *Tartars*: This old Man was threatened with the most cruel Death, if he did not prevail on his Son to submit to his Authority; and on the other Hand, promised to reward him

12 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

him with Honours and Dignities; wherefore the old Man wrote to his Son to the following Purpose, *viz.*

‘ That the Emperor, and all the *Taimingian* Family were no more: That *Licungxu* was on the Throne, and that it would be best to make a Virtue of Necessity: That if he submitted to the present Power, he would be rewarded with Royal Dignities, and that his [the Father's] Life, depended on his Answer.’

The Answer, which the Son returned, was to this Effect: ‘ If you forgot your Duty to your Prince, I am not to be blamed if I refuse my Duty and Obedience to such a Father: I positively renounce all Subjection to a Thief.’

Having dispatch'd this Letter, he sent an Ambassador to the King of the *Tartars*, requesting his assistance to subdue the Usurper: The King readily complied, and marched with an Army of 80,000 Men from *Leaotung*, and having joined the *Chinese*, the *Tartar* King advised the General to dress his Army in the *Tartarian* Habit, the better to deceive the Usurper.

Usanguciu, bent on Revenge, accepted Counsel, not regarding the *Chinese* Proverb, *That he brought in Tygers to drive out Dogs*. The Usurper, being informed of this Alliance, and of their Revenge against him, and knowing he was no Match for such an Army, quitted the Palace, and carried off the Riches that the *Taimingian* Family had amass'd for near 280 Years; but before they had got to their Rendezvous at the City of *Singan*, where the Usurper had fixed his Residence, the allied Army fell upon the Rear, and recovered the greatest Part again.

But the *Tartar* King pursued the Thieves as far as the River *Crecu*, and then he returned with his Army to *Peking* where the *Chinese* presented him with the Empire; but he, dying before he was settled upon the Throne he had been so ambitious of, had left such Instructions to his Counsel, that his Son, a Child of six Years of Age, was not long after declared his Successor, leaving his elder Brother Guardian,
and

ENTERTAINMENT. 13

and his other Brethren, his Tutors and Counsellors, who advanced this Infant to the Sovereignty of the Empire. This Prince was the Grandfather of the present Emperor of *China*.

The Thieves being thus expelled, *Usanguieu* thought it Time to create, for a new Emperor, a Prince of the *Taimingian* Family, who was not far off: But he first treated with the *Tartars*, offered them Rewards, and applauded their Fidelity, desiring withal, that they would depart the Country, and enter into an Alliance with him. To this the *Tartars* returned an evasive Answer; telling him, ' That as yet they did not think it proper to leave him, the Thieves being rather dispersed than destroyed: That their Captain had taken Residence in *Sigan*, and was in Possession of the most opulent and populous Provinces: That if they were gone, the Thieves would make new Invasions, when perhaps they could not succour him: We therefore, said they, are resolved to prosecute the War against them, till they are quite extirpated, that the intended Emperor may be in a peaceful Possession of his Empire. And what is most adviseable in this Juncture of Affairs, is, that you, with Part of your incorporated Forces, march directly against *Licungzu*; we, with the other Part, will march to *Xantung*, in order to rout the Thieves from thence, that thus the Empire may be settled.'

While these Things were deliberating, the Country of *China* was invaded by an infinite Number of *Tartars*, animated by the Presence of their Infant King, who, as I observed before, was but six Years of Age; and all their Armies having joined, they proclaimed him Emperor of *China*, by the Name of *Xanbi*. The Child, having thus ascended the Throne with Abundance of Gravity and Majesty, delivered the following wise Speech to his Officers and the Army:

' 'Tis your Valour and Promise, my most noble Friends, not my Conduct, that strengthens my Weakness, and enables me thus undauntedly to

14 *The* WINTER'S EVENING

possess the Imperial Dignity: This, my Firmness, and the Steadiness of this Chair, I hope, is a Pre-sage of my future Felicity, as its Trembling proved unfortunate to *Licungzu*: You behold my first Advancement; but it is by your Valour, that I reckon, not only this Empire, but the Empires of the whole World as my own: Your Rewards shall be proportioned to your eminent Virtues; proceed with Resolution and Courage.'

The same Day the young Prince declared his elder Uncle to be his Tutor and Father, and committed the Affairs of the State to his Care, he being a Person eminent for all the Virtues of a compleat Hero.

Messengers were quickly dispatched to *Usangucius*, to proclaim him a tributary King, by the Name of *Pingsi*, i. e. Pacifier of the Western World, and to fix his Residence in the Capital of *Xenfi*; and he, seeing himself incapable to resist such a vast Power, submitted, and assisted the *Tartars* in gaining the other Provinces of *China*; they quickly drove the Thieves out of the little Kingdom of *Xanfi*, and then fixed his Residence in *Sigan*.

Thus came the Empire of *China* in the Possession of the *Tartarian* Family.

The *Tartars*, who had their King already upon the Throne, easily conquered the Provinces of *Peking* and *Xantung*, by augmenting their own Forces with *Chinese* Soldiers and Officers, who all had their Hair cut, and wore Cloaths of the *Tartarian* Fashion; whereas, such as would not conform to that Custom, were looked upon as Enemies and Traytors to the present Establishment. But this rigorous Command inspired the *Chinese* with Revenge, and they fought more desperately for their Hair and Habit, than they had done for their Emperor and Country; yet, notwithstanding this, the *Tartars*, in less than a Year, subdued *Peking*, *Xanfi*, *Xenfi*, and *Xantung*, four large Provinces in the North of *China*: They made, however, an Alteration in their Civil Government, and suffered it to be managed, as before, by Philosophers; and, by advancing the Natives into
Places

ENTERTAINMENT. 15

Places of Trust and Honour, the *Tartar* Prince gained the Hearts of most People.

By this Time the Southern Parts of *China* had been informed of the Danger which the Emperor was in : They therefore gathered instantly an Army, and went in full March to his Relief ; but hearing upon the Road that *Licungzu* was dead, and that *Peking* was taken by the *Tartars*, they returned. The People, upon this News, were in the greatest Consternation ; but being recovered, they resolved to elect *Hunquangu*, one of the *Taimingian* Family, for their Emperor, and crowned him accordingly, who at his Accession sent Ambassadors to the *Tartars*, offering them all the Northern Provinces, if they would come into a League with him ; but the *Tartars* answered him, that they would not receive as a Gift, what was their own by Right of Conquest ; and that they would have all, or none : Upon this, both Parties took the Field.

In the Interim, a young Man at *Nanking*, set up for the eldest Son to the late Emperor *Licungzu*, and proved his Claim by strong Arguments ; but *Hunquangu* ordered him to be put to Death ; and the Prefects refusing to obey his Sentence, there arose a Disfension among the *Chinese*, of which the *Tartars* made their Advantage, and seizing the City of *Nanking*, passed the River in the Face of a numerous Army of *Chinese*, and besieged the City *Yangchen*, which made a vigorous Defence, but being overpowered, all were put to the Sword ; and for fear of having the Air infected by the great Number of dead Carcasses, they laid them upon the Tops of Houses, and setting Fire to them, they reduced both the City and Suburbs to Ashes.

Some Governors, and several Regiments, submitted to the *Tartars*, who advanced many of the *Chinese* ; and by shewing Clemency to them, and Severity to such who made Resistance, the *Tartars* made an easy Conquest of all the Northern Provinces : But the Siege of *Nanking* could not be carried on without the crossing a River, which is four Miles broad ; for

16 The WINTER'S EVENING

which End the *Tartars* equipped a Fleet, but to frustrate their Design, *Hunquangu*, a faithful Admiral, faced them with the Naval Forces of *China*, and fought the *Tartars* with such Bravery, as made it evident that they were not invincible; but one of his Officers being fordid, shot this brave Man with an Arrow; after which, the *Chinese* Fleet seeming to retire, the *Tartars* pursued it, and the Traytor then delivered the Emperor (who was among them) Prisoner to his Enemies. This happen'd in the Year 1644, when he had not reigned above twelve Months. The *Tartars* then carried him to *Peking*, and there hanged him in a Bowstring upon the Walls of that City: The young Pretender before-mentioned, whether a true or false one, underwent the same Fate; as did all the rest of the *Taimingian* Family. After this, the *Tartars* divided their Army, and subdued the Inland Provinces, which are of a prodigious Extent.

The principal Officers of the *Chinese* hereupon retired to *Hoicheu*, the Metropolis of *Chekiang*, and chose *Lowangus* Emperor; he being one of the *Taimingian* Race; but he refused this Title, and contented himself with that of a King. He had not reigned above three Days, before he was besieged by the *Tartars*, and his renegade Soldiers refused to fight for him, unless they were paid. The King, seeing himself in Distress, and unable to bear the Desolation of the Country, which he foresaw, shewed the Affection he had for his Subjects in the following unparalleled Manner: He got upon the Walls of the City, and on his Knees intreated the *Tartars* to commiserate his innocent Countrymen, and voluntarily offered himself a Victim to their Resentment, in order to save his Subjects Lives; and immediately went out to meet the Besiegers.

The *Tartars*, having now the King and the City in their Possession, ordered the Citizens to shut the Gates, and guard the Walls, to prevent either their own, or the King's Soldiers from entering them. Then they fell upon the Garrison, and destroyed them without Mercy. Many of them threw themselves
into

ENTERTAINMENT. 17

into the River, Multitudes leaped into Boats, which being over-loaden, sunk with them; and thus the Soldiers being destroyed, they preserved that rich and noble City, without hurting any of the Inhabitants.

The *Tartars* then crossed the River, and took *Xan-king*, the most beautiful City in the whole Empire, without any Opposition; and so they might have subdued all the Southern Parts of *Chekiang*, had it not been for a Proclamation, by which the *Chinese* were ordered to cut their Hair; but they fought desperately, and not only drove the *Tartars* out of that City, but forced them to fly the Country, and to pass the River again, where the *Tartars* lost a great Number of Men; and had the *Chinese* followed their Victory, they might have recovered the Metropolis out of their Hands; but being satisfied with having preserved their Hair, they only fortified, and put their Southern Shore in a good Defence.

This checked the Triumphs of the *Tartars* for a whole Year: But the *Chinese* chose another Emperor of the *Taimingian* Line, named *Lu Regulus*, who refused to take upon him any other Title, than that of Restorer of the Empire. The *Tartars* sent to *Peking* for fresh Recruits, to enable them to cross the River again, but in vain, and the *Chinese* had some fair Prospect, if the Spirit of Emulation had not reigned among them. The Officers, who fled from the Province of *Chekiang* to the Country of *Fokien*, carried along with them *Thangus*, one of the *Taimingian* Race, whom they crowned King. This Prince pretended to have a better Title than King *Lu*, who had at that Time the Government of that Province. King *Lu* insisted on his Right, having been chose by the Soldiery, after many Victories which he had gained over the *Tartars*; but having only eight Cities, which could not afford a sufficient Subsistence for his Army, he could but just defend himself. The *Tartars* attempted several Times to pass the River, but the King's Ships always frustrated their Designs. In that Year there happened a great Drought, which made the River in some Places fordable; and the

18 The WINTER'S EVENING

Tartars knowing, that the Mountains along which that River takes its Course, were left unguarded, and that they were looked upon as a strong Defence, to that Province, forded it over. The Peasants, seeing the *Tartars* Army advancing, hastened to carry the News to the Army, who were no sooner informed thereof, but they fled. King *Lu* himself left the City of *Xanking*, took Ship, and sailed to the Island *Cheuxan*, where he maintained his Royal Dignity; and the Island, which before was but a Receptacle for Fishermen, is now a flourishing Kingdom, and contains above seventy Cities.

The *Tartars* were now Masters of the Province of *Cbekiang*, except the City of *Kinboa*, which sustained the Assault, under the Command of a brave Governor, for several Months, and the *Tartars* suffered very much in this Siege from the Great Guns that fired upon them, 'till the Arrival of their heavy Artillery, with which they made such Breaches in the Wall, as did admit their Entrance: Then, in hostile Rage, they destroyed the City with all its Inhabitants. But the Governor, rather than fall into the Hands of the *Tartars*, blew himself and his whole Family up in his own Palace; the Name of a *Tartar* was grown so terrible among the *Chinese*.

The next Province the *Tartars* took was *Fokien*, which offered not the least Resistance. The King and his cowardly Army fled; and the *Tartars* pursuing them, killed most of them with their Arrows: The King himself was supposed to have fallen among the rest, for he never was heard of afterwards. The Province readily submitting, suffered but little, only the Town of *Nanking*, standing in their Defence, was wholly destroyed by Fire and Sword.

A *Tartarian* Army came at last to the Midland Countries of *Huquang* and *Quengsi*. The Vice-roy of the latter Province was *Thomas*, a Christian, and one *Ching Lucas* commanded the Militia. These two, having collected an Army out of those which had fled thither from all Parts, received the *Tartars* with such Courage and Bravery, that they gained

ENTERTAINMENT. 19

two victorious Battles over them, and recovered all the Western Parts of *Quantung*, and in order to draw the *Chinese* more effectually into their Measures, they elected a Nephew of the great *Vauley* to be their Emperor. This Prince fixed his Residence in the City of *Chatking*, and fought the *Tartars* with good Success. The chief Eunuch at his Court was a Christian, as well as the Emperor's Wife; nor was the Emperor himself averse from that Religion; for he permitted her to pay Homage to the Pope.

These victorious Exploits revived the Spirits of the *Chinese*; for no sooner had the *Tartars* lost *Quantung*, but an inconsiderable Heathen Priest, with a Mob-Army at his Heels, descended the Mountains, fell on the *Tartars*, defeated them, and took the City *Kienbung* and other Places. The *Tartar* Governors of the Province of *Chekian*, being informed thereof, sent a Reinforcement, and laid Siege to *Kienbung*, which the Priest had taken; but they were obliged to turn it into a Blockade, 'till, by incredible Labour, they had brought Cannon over the Mountains, by which they broke through the Walls, and then put above 30,000 Persons to the Sword, burnt the Town, and a fine Church of the Christians; this City being taken, the rest of the Country was quickly subdued.

In the Northern Parts, the *Chinese* shewed an Inclination for Liberty, and three of their Generals, though defeated, yet not being taken, were retired to the very Brinks of the Mountains. The Head of these was called *Haus*, who invited the others to join him; and gathering an Army of 25,000 Men, proclaimed Destruction to the *Tartars*, and Liberty to the *Chinese*: Upon which, many Places submitted to him, but *Sigan*, the Metropolis, stood out, having a Garrison of 3000 *Tartars*, and 2000 hired *Chinese*. The Governor of this Place, being informed of those Motions, provided for a long Siege, but understanding that all the Country had submitted to *Haus*, came to a barbarous Resolution of murdering all the Citizens, and could hardly be dissuaded from his horrid Purpose,

20 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

Purpose, by the Vice-roy's and the Citizens Promise of their faithful Alliance. However, he ordered all the *Chinese* Citizens to shave their Hair, that they might be distinguished from those who should enter the City; and that if more than two were seen together in Company, they should be immediately killed: And lastly, That no Body was to walk on the Walls, nor be allowed Fire or Candle-Light, or any Arms in their Possession.

Having thus ordered Things in the City, he sent out his Scouts, to inform him of the Enemy's Strength, but some of them were killed, and the rest returned to the City. The Governor, then defying their Forces, set open the Gates, nor would he even suffer the Bridges to be drawn up; and *Haus*, finding that he could do nothing upon the fresh Supply of *Tartars* which were advancing, retired; but the *Tartarian* Horse pursuing him, fell upon his Rear, killed many, and carried off a great Deal of his rich Baggage, and *Haus* was never heard of afterwards.

The *Tartars*, having surmounted those Difficulties, fell into another in 1645. Their Emperor being arrived to the State of Manhood, solicited in Marriage the Daughter of the King of *Toingu*, Prince of the Western *Tartars*, to whom he sent his Uncle Ambassador on that Errand. The City of *Taitung*, which is the Key and Bulwark of the Province of *Xanfi*, against the Western *Tartars*, is reckoned to have the finest Women in all *China*: Here some of the Ambassador's Followers not only committed Rapes, but carried off a Lady of great Quality. Hereupon Complaints were made to *Kiangsu*, the *Tartarian* Governor in that Quarter, who sent to the petty Prince *Panang* for Redress, but receiving a slight Answer, went in Person; and being rejected with Contempt, was so enraged with that Usage, that he fell upon the *Tartars*; and the Ambassador himself made a narrow Escape, by being let down the Walls.

Kiangsu then displayed his Banner, and declared himself a Subject of *China*; and not naming the Emperor, but calling the *Chinese* to defend their Country,

ENTERTAINMENT. 21

Country, and to expel the *Tartars*, he was not only joined by many Officers, but also by the Western *Tartars*, and with an Army of 140,000 Horse, and 400,000 Foot, fell upon the *Tartars*, and gained a compleat Victory. But the Ambassador, arriving with rich Presents to the King of *Toingn*, soon obtained all his Demands; upon which *Kiangn*, being deserted by the Western *Tartars*, retired to *Taitung*, but he was soon blocked up; and seeing himself in Distress he animated his Soldiers, rather to die by the Sword than Hunger; accordingly he fell upon the Enemy, and in an obstinate Fight was killed by an Arrow; whereupon some of the Soldiers fled, others submitted to the *Tartars*, who plundered *Taitung*, and burnt the City of *Puchen*; and thus ended the Troubles in the Western Parts.

After this, they had Orders sent them from *Peking* to repair the Southern Provinces, in order to pacify the Seditions amongst the People there. They arrived in the Province of *Quantung* to carry on the War against the Emperor *Zungleus*, and took many Cities in their March; but that of *Quangeheu* refused to submit, and the *Tartars* lay a whole Year before it: At last it was taken, after they had beat down the Walls with their heavy Cannon Balls. They then destroyed Men, Women, and Children, sparing none, except some Artificers, and some lusty young Fellows, who could help to carry off the Plunder. After they had cruelly butchered above 100,000 Persons, they published an Edict on the Sixth of *December*, 1650, to stop. The neighbouring Provinces, terrified at this Tragedy, sent Presents, and submitted. Then they marched to the City of *Chatking*, where the Emperor *Jungle* held his Court; who, knowing his inferior Strength, fled with his Army and Family.

When the *Tartars* sacked the City *Quangeheu*, there was a venerable Jesuit, named *Alvarus Semedo*, who presided over the Christians there; they tied his Hands and Feet for several Days, threatening him with Death every Moment, if he did not discover the Treasure of the Christians; but knowing of none, he

22 *The* WINTER'S EVENING

he suffered extremely, 'till the King, hearing of it, commiserated his Age and Gravity, and restored to him his Liberty, Books, and some Money, besides giving him Ground to build a Church upon.

About this Time, the Kingdom of *Corea* revolted from the *Tartars*, for compelling them to conform in their Habits to the *Tartarian* Fashion.

In the Year 1651, the *Tartars* sustained a great Loss by the Death of *Amavangu*, a Man to whom they are indebted for the Conquest of *China*, and who, for his many good Qualities, was generally beloved and dreaded, both among the *Tartars* and the *Chinese*, and had the Reins of Government in his Hands, all the Time of the Emperor's Minority. Upon his Death, his Brother *Quingtu* aspired to this Place of Trust; but his Claim was rejected both by the *Chinese* and *Tartars*, who alledged, that the Emperor, being sixteen Years of Age, was able to take the Government upon himself: All the chief Officers likewise laid down their Commissions, and refused to take them from any but the young Emperor *Xunchiu*. *Quingtu*, seeing their Constancy, prudently submitted.

The Emperor *Xunchiu*, being now grown up to Manhood, resolved to consummate his intended Nuptials with the Daughter of the Emperor of Western *Tartary*. In this Particular the *Tartars* and the *Chinese* differ: The *Tartars* chuse Rank and Greatness of Birth; the *Chinese* Beauty: The Wife of the late Emperor of *China* was the Daughter of a Man whose Livelihood depended upon making Straw Shoes. But to proceed: The Emperor's Wedding was solemnized in a Manner suitable to the Occasion. The Lady arrived with whole Armies of Attendants, and almost innumerable Troops of Horses, with which the Western *Tartars* abound; so that sometimes they make the Emperor of *China* a Present of 80,000 of them.

Before I conclude, I think it will not be improper to give an Account of a notorious Thief and Robber, who infested the Country of *China* about this Time.

ENTERTAINMENT. 23

Time. His Name was *Changienchangu*: He was such a Monster in Nature, that the bare Thoughts of his Villainy strike me with Horror. He entered divers Provinces, carrying Death and Desolation wherever he came. The Province of *Suchuen* was the chief Stage of his Cruelty. He took the capital City *Chingü*, and killed a Prince of the *Taimingian* Family, who had here fixed his Court, with several others of that Royal Blood. His Temper was so barbarous, that for the least Offence of one Man (without respecting Age, Sex, or Condition) he would destroy a whole Family, and even the whole Street, where the Offender lived.

A Man, whom he had sent into the Province of *Xenfi*, being glad he had got out of his Reach, thought it his best Way to keep so, which enraged the Tyrant to such a Degree, that he destroyed all that Quarter of the City where the Man had lived; and this he judged favourable, since he spared the rest of the Town. Another of his savage Actions was, his Favourite fell sick, and died; upon which, the Physician who attended him, and a Hundred more of the same Profession, were all sacrificed, to appease the Ghost of the Deceased.

He behaved best to his Soldiers; yet sometimes, when the Humour took him, he would barbarously murder those who were ill clad, or whose Gaits he did not like. An Officer, to whom he had given a Piece of Silk, finding Fault with it to somebody, and being overheard by a Spy, and brought to the Tyrant's Ear, he had him, and the whole Regiment, which consisted of 2000 Men, cut to Pieces: Of 600 Prefects and Judges, in the Space of three Years Time, there were not left above 25. A *Pingpu*, or Serjeant-Major, was fled alive, for having granted a *Chinese* Philosopher Leave to go to his Country House, without a special Licence. He put 500 Eunuchs, whom he had taken from the *Taimingian* Princes, to cruel Deaths, because one of them called him Thief.

The

24 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

The Heathen Priests fared no better, who had, before his coming, raised great Persecutions against the Christians. Of these Priests he had the Chief apprehended, and in the Presence of the Fathers, or Jesuits, ordered him to be beheaded; and not contented with that, under Pretence of shewing his Zeal for the Christians, he sent 20,000 of the inferior Priests after him.

Northwards of the Province of *Suchuen*, bordering upon *Xensi*, lies the City of *Nanchung*, which is strongly fortified, and is the Key to two Provinces. In 1654, this Tyrant laid Siege to it, with an Army of 180,000 Men, all Natives of the Country of *Suchuen*, besides others his Followers: But by the vigorous Defence of the Besieg'd, and the Desertion of 40,000 of his Troops, he was obliged to break up. At which the Tyrant was so enraged, that he ordered all the *Suchuen* Soldiers, to the Number of 140,000, to be slain by the rest of the Army. This dreadful Massacre lasted four Days; many of their Skins were stuffed with Straw, and sent to be hung in and about the Towns where they were born. He harraased the Country all about: Such as had Agility enough to escape to the Mountains for Shelter, saved their Lives, but all the rest were massacred.

Having not yet quenched his Thirst after Blood, he summoned all the Students of the several Schools and Colleges round the Country, in order to take upon them the several Degrees, and Places of Honour and Trust, as each should be found qualified for: Hereupon about 14,000 Persons appeared in the publick Hall, all which he ordered to be cruelly butchered, saying, it was they who raised a Rebellion, by their Cabals and Sophistries.

These Barbarities are horrible to relate; add to these the murdering of Children, and Women big with Child; the exposing Women to all Sorts of Indecencies before the Eyes of their condemned Husbands, and then killing them.

But there is one bloody Scene more, which is the last this cruel Tyrant caused to be acted, and was in the Year 1646. The *Tartars* marched into the Province

ENTERTAINMENT. 25

Province of *Xenfi*, to give him Battle, which he could not avoid. But to prevent all he had to fear from the City of *Changhi*, lest they should join in the Interest of the *Tartars*, he commanded all the Inhabitants of the City, of what Quality soever, to be bound, to the Number, as it is said, of 600,000 Souls; who all, with erected Hands and streaming Eyes, begged the Tyrant's Pity. At this doleful Sight he seem'd to be struck, and Humanity and Barbarity was, as it were, struggling for Predominancy; but, presently recovering himself, the Word was given to kill the Rebels, and they were all massacred in one Day, without the City Walls, in the Presence of that bloody Monster: But the Jesuit Fathers petitioned for, and obtained, the Lives of those which they claimed as their Servants, and likewise baptised a Number of their Children, as the Soldiers carried them through the Gates to be butchered.

Historians relate, there was so much Blood spilt in that Massacre, as filled the great River *Kiang*, which takes its Course by that City's Walls; and the dead Carcases, which by the Stream were carried thro' other Cities, were a sad Presage of the Fate they had to expect.

After this, the bloody Tyrant dispatched some of his Forces to depopulate other Cities in the same Manner, who slew all they could find, and thus made this populous Province a desolate Wilderness. I had almost forgot another bloody Scene remaining, which crowns all the rest with Horror and Astonishment.

The Tyrant, after the before-mentioned horrid Exploits, mustered his Army in the Field, and spoke to them in the following Manner:

‘ I hope by your Bravery to expel the *Tartars*, and
 ‘ to obtain the Empire of the World; but it would
 ‘ tend much more to my Satisfaction, if I could see
 ‘ you more expeditious in the Pursuit after Glory,
 ‘ Honour, and Riches. To ease you of all your In-
 ‘ cumbrances and Cares, you know I sunk sixty Ships
 ‘ in the River *Kiang*, laden with Silver, which I

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‘ can

26. The WINTER'S EVENING

‘ can recover with Ease, to reward your Labours,
 ‘ when once I get Possession of the Empire. But
 ‘ there is yet an Incumbrance, which is a dead
 ‘ Weight upon all our Enterprizes, that is, *Our*
 ‘ *Wives*: Although as Emperor I might claim the
 ‘ Preference, yet I’ll lead you to a generous Resolu-
 ‘ tion by my own Example.’

Having thus spoke, out of 300 beautiful Concu-
 bines, he reserved no more than twenty to serve his
 three Queens. The Soldiers followed his Example,
 and a vast Number of Women were that Day sacrific-
 ed to the Emperor’s Humour, in having their Heads
 cut off; and such Soldiers as were sick or maimed un-
 derwent the same Fate. Then they pursued their
 March, and set Fire to the Houses of the Cities and
 Towns through which they passed, to make the
 whole Country desolate.

Entring into the Province of *Xenfi*, he was met
 by the *Tartars*; and being in his Tent, one of his
 Captains brought him Word of the Enemy’s Ap-
 proach; at which the Tyrant, who was of a resolute
 Spirit, snatched up a Lance, and without a Breast
 Plate, rushed out of his Tent to view the Enemy.
 But the first Arrow the *Tartars* discharged pierced the
 Monster’s Heart; then his Head being cut off, the
 Army was soon reduced, and the small Remains of
 the miserable Inhabitants of the Province of *Suchuen*
 received the *Tartars* as their Deliverers.

Thus, in seven Years Time, the *Tartars* subdued
 more Land in Length and Breadth, than an Army
 could march over in that Time. Twelve vast Pro-
 vinces of *China* were brought under their Subjec-
 tion, besides *Leaotung*, and the Kingdom of *Corea*.

C H A P. II.

The Conquest of Mexico, by the Spaniards.

AMONG the Mexican Nobility, the Family of *Nawatlaci* bore the Sway, and was looked upon superior to all the rest: *Muteczuma*, the Head thereof, was a Man of few Words, but of a penetrating Wit: He much frequented the Temple of *Vitzliputzly*, in order to inform himself concerning his Conduct. In this Temple he had hid himself, as soon as he was informed of being chose King; but when he was discovered, and by the Electors conducted to the sacred Hearth, he drew some Blood from his Ears, Cheeks, and Legs, according to the customary Offerings of his Predecessors: An Emerald was then hung at his Nose, and *Tuskuko*, one of the Ministers of State, made the following Speech:

‘The great Happiness, most noble *Muteczuma*, which this Empire is blessed with, by chusing you to the Royal Dignity, manifestly appears in the Joy expressed by all the People. None but your Shoulders were strong enough to bear the Burthen of Government with Magnanimity and Prudence: The *Mexicans* are favoured by the Gods, in having given them Wisdom to make such a glorious Choice. Who can doubt, but that you, favoured with the sacred Conversation of *Vitzliputzly*, will heal the Rents and Broils of this contending Nation. Leap then, *Mexico*! and dance for Joy: Heaven has granted thee a Prince who is prudent without Deceit; merciful without derogating from Justice; valiant without Baseness; and mild and meek without degrading Meanness. And now, O King, let not thy exalted Station make a Change in thy well known Virtues: The Crown will cause anxious Cares for the common Good; for thy Precaution must extend itself over the whole Realm, and over every one of thy Subjects.’

The King listened to this Speech with great Attention,

28 The WINTER'S EVENING

tion, and after *Teshuko* had stopped, he attempted thrice to answer him, but was every Time interrupted by the vehement Motion of his Mind, which shewed itself by breaking out into a Flood of Tears: At last, having recovered himself, he spoke to the following Purpose:

‘ I see full well, Sir, that your Addresses flow from the Spring of your Affection and Favour, considering the many illustrious Persons you have passed by, and the Honour you have shewn me, in chusing me your Principal. As I think myself wholly incapable of governing the numberless *Mexicans*, I shall be the more assiduous in craving the Assistance of him, who is the Creator of all Things; and I beseech you to join in my Supplications to him.’ Having said this, he could not refrain from shedding Tears again.

Being declared King of *Mexico*, he reformed his Royal Court, in furnishing himself with able Ministers, which he chose out of the Nobility, and dismissed those who were not of noble Extractions; by which he gained the Ill-will and Censure of the People.

Having settled this, he gave Orders to prepare for his Coronation; these were executed the sooner, on Account of a War which broke out between him and a neighbouring Nation that had revolted. He marched against them with an Army of select *Mexicans*, intending to offer some of the Captives he should take, at his Coronation, as had been customary on such Occasions by his Predecessors: The War was carried on with such Success and Dispatch, that in a very little Time he subdued the whole Territory of the Revolters, and punished their principal Leaders very severely: The Spoil and Prisoners were brought to *Mexico*, and the latter served for the intended Offer.

At his Return to *Mexico*, he was received with great Honour and State: The chief Lords handed him the Basen with Water, and attended his Table; an Honour done to none of his Predecessors. The Coronation

ENTERTAINMENT. 29

nation Feast was kept with uncommon, and never before heard of Magnificence: There were acted several Comedies, Drolls, &c. with Singing, Dancing, and all other Demonstrations of Joy; in short, the King seemed to be established on his Throne, universally beloved by his Subjects, and dreaded by his Enemies; his Power, Grandeur, Riches, and Magnificence, surpassing any of the Kings before him: But *Mutezuma*, after having several Years enjoyed a happy Reign, was now so lifted up with Pride as to assume Divine Honours; and not long after this Attempt, Heaven seemed to foretel his Downfal by several Prodigies.

The Idol at *Cobola*, called *Quezalcolt*, declared to him, that a foreign People was in their Way, which would take the *Mexican* Empire into their Possession. The King of *Texaico*, who was a great Conjuror, paid a Visit to *Mutezuma*, at an unusual Time, and acquainted him, that it had been revealed to him by his Gods, that he and his whole Empire would meet with a great Downfal. Such like Prognostications were told him by many Conjurors, Southsayers, and Sorcerers, and one of them told him the very Particulars and Circumstances of what should happen.

Mutezuma, alarmed at this, thought to pacify the Gods, and ordered a huge Stone, to be brought, in order to perform a solemn Sacrifice thereon; and tho' a great Number of People went with Bars, and other Engines and Implements, to raise the Stone, they were not able to stir it; and after much Toil and Fatigue to no Purpose, they heard a Voice, as it were, come from the Stone, which ordered them to desist from their vain Labour; for the Lord, who had created all Things, would not suffer it.

Mutezuma, being informed of this, ordered the Sacrifice to be performed upon it as it lay; whereupon a Voice was heard, which said, Have I not told you it was the Will of the Lord who has created all Things, you should desist from your Attempt? And to convince you of the Truth thereof, you shall be suffered to move the Stone a little Way, but it shall

30 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

shall be fixed again, so that you shall not be able to stir it; which happened accordingly. Nevertheless, they persevered in their Prayers, and prevailed so much as to bring the Stone just to the Entry of *Mexico*, where on a sudden it rolled into a Ditch; and altho' they searched for it a long while, it could not be found, till some Time after the Stone happened to be found in the Place from whence it was first removed, to the great Admiration and Terror of all that saw it.

About that Time appeared a fiery Pillar in the Air, like unto a Pyramid, which rose at Midnight, and was seen for a whole Twelvemonth. The exceeding rich Temple of *Ku* was set on Fire, when none was within or near it; and though all possible Endeavours were used to extinguish the Flames, it was to no Purpose; the whole Building was reduced to Ashes, and the Water rather added more to the Conflagration than diminished it. A Comet appeared above the Horizon at Noon-day, which took its Course from East to West, and cast a great Quantity of Sparks, or Darts of Fire. The Tail of it was very long, at the End thereof were three Figures, like the Heads of Men. The Sea between *Mexico* and *Texcoco*, all on a sudden, began to ebulliate with great Vehemence, when at the same Time no Wind was stirring; and its Waves were so raging, that they threw down several Houses near the Shore.

Sometimes a doleful Voice, like that of a sighing Woman, was heard, which said, O my Children! your Destruction is at Hand. At other Times it would say, O my Children! where shall I carry you, to prevent your being lost? There were also seen Monsters with three Heads, which being brought before the King vanished; but the most strange Prodigy was

The Extraordinary Wonder Bird.

This Bird was caught by the Fishermen, and was of an odd Make, about the Size of a Crane. It was presented to *Montezuma*, who was then at his own Palace,

ENTERTAINMENT. 31

Palace, called the *Mournful*, and was painted all over black, for as this King had set apart several Palaces for Diversion and Mirth, he had also some appropriated for Solitude and Mourning. Whilst he was contemplating and reflecting on the Threatnings of the Gods, and the Prognostications of his Ruin, this Bird was brought to him. On the Crown of its Head was something like a bright Looking-glass, in which *Mutezuma* observed the Beauty of the Firmament, with all the glittering Stars. This Sight put the King into Amazement, the more because not one Star could be then seen in the Heavens. He then looked again, and discovered an Army coming from the East, who killed many People. The King indeed had his Soothsayers about him, who saw every Thing as well as himself, but could not declare the Signification thereof. After this was passed, the Bird vanished, and was seen no more; at which *Mutezuma* was much surprized.

A Peasant carried away by Force,

Was another Prodigy which happened about that Time, and was thus: A Man, who was looked upon to be but poor and simple, demanded to be admitted before the King, and being suffered to speak to *Mutezuma*, he uttered these Words:

Yesterday, when I was manuring my Ground, an extraordinary large Eagle took me up, and carried me without Hurt to a Cave, into which I went: The Eagle then said, Most mighty Lord, I have brought him whom you ordered me to fetch. I looked about me, to see with whom the Eagle talked, but could perceive nothing, only I heard a Voice which said, Knowest thou the Man which lies stretched on the Ground before thee? Whereupon I looked about me, and I saw a Man lie before me fast asleep, dressed in Royal Garments, holding a Sprig of a well-scented burning Match in his Hand; and examining this sleeping Person narrowly, I found him to be *Mutezuma*. This seems to me to be King *Mutezuma*, cried I: Thou sayest

sayest right, replied the Voice, look but again how he lies asleep, unconcerned at the approaching Danger: Now his Time is come to atone for his Pride, Arrogance and Tyranny; but he is so secure and careless, as not to feel his own Misery; and that thou mayest see the Truth thereof, take the burning Match out of his Hand, and hold it to his Hip, and thou shalt find that it will not make him sensible.

I dared not draw too nigh the sleeping Man, for I feared the King; but the Voice said, Fear not, I am infinitely greater than this King; I can destroy him, and preserve thee, wherefore do as I bid thee. I then took the burning Match out of the King's Hand, and held it to his Hip, but he shewed no Manner of Motion: When this was done, the Voice said, Since thou seest the King asleep, go to him, awake him, and tell him what has happened; and immediately the Eagle carried me to the Place from whence he had taken me up. *Mutezuma* heard this Relation, but not without Apprehension and Dread, especially when (as some Authors say) he found his Hip was really scorched. Not long after this Prodigy, happened

The first Arrival of the Spaniards in the Kingdom of Mexico.

In the fourteenth Year of the Reign of *Mutezuma*, namely *Anno 1517*, several *Spanish* Ships cast Anchor near the North Part of *America*, and the *Mexicans*, who lived upon that Coast, went in their Canoes, to carry them Bread and other Provisions, also fine Cloaths on Board, in order to sell them. They were received very kindly by the *Spaniards*, who gave them in Exchange, coloured Glass Beads, and other Trifles, which, by the *Indians*, were looked upon as very precious Jewels: They told the *Spaniards* that they would carry them to their King, who, they said, was a very rich and powerful Prince: The *Spaniards* bid them tell their King, that they should not visit him this Voyage, but they should come again

ENTERTAINMENT. 33

again another Time, and take up their Lodging with him.

The *Indians* did as they were bid, and carried this News to *Mexico*, having painted upon a Cloth what they had seen; namely the Ships, and the Men in their proper Dress; and shewed all the Beads, and other Trinkets they had received from the *Spaniards*. This Report surprized *Mutezuma* very much, who charged those News-mongers to keep Things very private, and divulge it to no Soul alive. The Day following he called a Privy Council, to which he shewed the Cloth, Beads, &c. and asked their Advice on this Occasion, and how to order Matters, if Things should happen according to what the *Spaniards* had told them.

The following Year, 1518, the *Mexicans* espied again a Fleet of Ships on their Coast, at which *Mutezuma* was very much alarmed: He called a Council, who were all of Opinion that it was their old Lord *Quexalcoalt*, who had promised them to return again: At last the King sent five of his principal Courtiers to the *Spaniards*, with rich Presents: They complimented the *Spanish* Admiral, who was *Cortex*, and told him, they were not ignorant that he was *Quexalcoalt*, who had promised them to come again: That *Mutezuma*, his Servant, had sent him rich Presents, and the Cloaths he used to wear, when he dwelt among them, desiring him to accept of them.

Cortex did not refuse the Presents, which were no mean ones, and told them that he was the same whom they supposed, and treated them in a very friendly Manner. The following Day the chief Officers of the *Spaniards* repaired all to the Admiral's Ship, and after some Consultation they resolved to put the Messengers in some Dread and Fear, in order to make them have a Notion of their being great Heroes, though their Number was but small. Accordingly they fired all the Guns of the Ship, at which the *Mexicans*, who never before had heard of such Things, were put in the greatest Consternation, expecting nothing less than Heaven to fall on their Heads.

The

34 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

The Messengers returning to *Mutezuma*, reported every Thing they had seen and heard : He called all the Sorcerers and Conjurers, and admonished them to use all their Arts to expel the *Spaniards* from the *Mexican Coast* ; but their Skill could not in the least hinder *Cortez's* landing his Men, and marching directly up the Country ; the *Spaniards* had passed thro' the State of *Tlascala*, (a People who maintained their Liberty and Government without a King) besides the Jurisdiction of another Nation ; *Mutezuma* being informed thereof, was in great Perplexity : At last they entered the Territories of *Mexico*, and found it a Champian Country ; the Cities were fine and large, and made a magnificent Appearance, with a great Number of lofty Towers : Some Villages were several Miles long, and every Thing gave them a Prospect of Grandeur, Riches, and Plenty. The *Spaniards* being advanced about half Way to the City of *Mexico*, pitched their Tents : Here they were visited by four Ambassadors of *Mutezuma*, with a Retinue of 200 Persons : Their Message to *Cortez* was, That *Mutezuma* offered to become Tributary to the King of *Spain*, and pay his Taxes to him in Gold, Silver, Silk and Cotton, on Condition *Cortez* did not advance farther ; for, said they, the Country is barren, and *Mutezuma* would be sorry to see his Friends want Provision. These Ambassadors brought several Presents, among which were 1000 Pound of Gold, and 1000 Callico Suits : But the *Tlascalans*, a People mentioned before, who never could be brought under the Subjection of the *Mexican* Government, and who had entered into a strict Alliance with *Cortez*, advised him not to give Credit to what the Ambassadors said, for they knew *Mutezuma* was contriving Ways and Means to destroy both him and his Horsemen ; but the Ambassadors protesting earnestly against those Accusations, the *Spaniards* and they marched together to *Churultecal*, a large City belonging to the King of *Mexico*. The *Tlascalans*, to shew the Sincerity of their Engagements with the *Spaniards*, accompanied them with 100,000 Men, but *Cortez* prevailed

ENTERTAINMENT. 35

prevailed with them to lessen their Number to 6000, and send the rest back to their Country again.

At *Churultecal* the *Spaniards* were received with great Honour; nevertheless, a Jealousy was observed among the People, and it was even reported that the *Mexicans* were gathered in a Body, not far from that City, with an Intent to fall upon the *Spaniards*, and to destroy them: There were 3000 Men in the City accused of being concerned in that Plot, who were all either shot or cut to Pieces by the *Spaniards*, and the City was made subject to the King of Spain. *Cortez* upbraided the Ambassadors, who were still with him, about the Conspiracy, but they protested they were innocent of the Matter. He suffered some of their Retinue to be dispatched to *Mexico*, who returned within six Days, and brought ten Dishes of pure Gold, 1500 Suits, besides a great Quantity of Provisions, desiring the *Spaniards* again in the Name of their King, not to advance farther up the Country, for Reasons before-mentioned; and coming to the Borders of the Province of *Chalco*, other Messengers came from the King, who repeated the same Instances. The Admiral received them respectfully, made some Presents to them and the King, but continued his March forwards. In his Road he came to a fine Seat belonging to one of the Chiefs of *Mexico*: Here he was received by a great Number of Persons of Quality and Distinction, who complimented him on his safe Arrival: They furnished him with all Manner of Necessaries, and presented him with a thousand Pounds of Gold, and forty Servants. The Day following there was a still greater Appearance of *Mexicans*, who were all Persons of the first Rank: They brought a Message from the King, wherein they acquainted the Admiral, that *Mutezuma* waited his Arrival at his Residence. They then broke up, and pursued their Journey, till they came within four Leagues from *Mexico*, where in a small Town they tarried all Night; but some Plot being discovered against the *Spaniards*, twenty *Indians* lost their Lives on that Account. The next Morning the Admiral

was

36 *The* WINTER'S EVENING

was waited upon by twelve *Mexican* Lords, among whom was one of about twenty-five Years old, who had more than common Respect shewn him; for whilst he was carried on a Litter, the rest walked before to clear the Way. By this Person the King excused himself for not waiting on the Admiral in Person, since his ill State of Health would not permit it.

Cortex, after he had marched through many large Towns and fine Cities, arrived, at last, in Sight of the Royal Residence, *Mexico*; here he was met by above a thousand *Mexican* Grandees, richly cloathed, after the Fashion of that Country: Every one paid their Compliments to *Cortex*, and each presented himself before him, bowing down, touched the Ground with their Hands, and rising up again kissed it, in Token of a profound Reverence and Respect. Above an Hour was spent before they all had thus paid their Compliments: After which *Cortex* passed over a wooden Bridge, and through the Gate of the City, where he was met by *Mutezuma*, attended by about 200 Persons of Quality, who went bare-foot, but were otherwise in very rich Attire. They went in regular Order, two and two together, and *Mutezuma* was led by the two chief Princes of the Empire, one of which was the King's own Brother: These three were cloathed alike, except the King's wearing of Shoes; the other two going bare-foot. When *Cortex* was come near the King, he dismounted; then *Mutezuma* and the two Princes paid him their Compliments, in the same Manner, as mentioned before. Whilst this was performing, *Cortex* flung a Collar of Pearls and Glass Beads about the King's Neck, and the King, on the other Hand, flung two Gold Chains (the Links whereof were in Imitation of Sea Crabs) about the Admiral's Neck: When this was done, the King ordered his Brother to attend *Cortex*, but himself marched with the other Prince a little before: Then the rest of the Grandees performed the same Ceremony, complimenting him on his Arrival, and conducted him to the Royal Palace; entering the
Gates

ENTERTAINMENT. 37

Gates thereof, the King took *Cortex* by the Hand, and went with him into the great Saloon, where he seated him on a Throne of State, which he had ordered for his Reception ; the rest of the *Spaniards* were well quartered in the Houses of the Citizens, and provided for in a handsome Manner . The King then took his Leave, and promised to wait on him again presently. Being returned, he presented *Cortex* with several costly Things of Gold and Silver, also with curious Feather-work, besides five thousand fine Silk Suits, wove in different Fashions. After the Delivery of those Presents, the King seated himself on another Throne, near to that of the *Spanish* Admiral's, and then explained himself to him to this Purpose :

“ We have, said he, for some Time past, informed ourselves from the Records of our Predecessors, that neither I, nor all those who inhabit this Country, had our Origin here, but that at first it was peopled by a foreign Nation : We know also, that a great Lord, to whom we were subject, and who conducted us into this Province, did leave us here, but himself returned to his native Country : After a long Series of Time, this Lord visited us again, when he found the Province divided into large Cities, and the Inhabitants married, and blessed with a numerous Offspring of Children. He then was endeavouring to carry us from hence, but we cared not to comply, and absolutely refused to follow him ; moreover, we resolved never to acknowledge him any more for our Lord ; whereupon he departed from us.

“ Ever since we have firmly believed, that one Time or other his Successors would come hither, conquer this Country, introduce their own Laws and Customs, and bring all this Nation under their Subjection. Now if we consider that Part of the World from whence you came, as also the mighty King that has sent you, we cannot but conclude, that he is our sovereign Lord ; and the rather, since he was acquainted with our living here, before you came from thence : Wherefore you may assure yourself that we shall accept you as our sovereign Lord, in the Name of him who sent
D
you .

you. The whole Country, of which hitherto I have been King, I deliver freely to your Government and Care, without any Artifice or Deceit. You find yourself in your own Country, and in your own House; therefore be chearful, and take your Rest, for I know you have undergone great Fatigues, not only on your Journey, but also in your warlike Engagements.

"I easily apprehend, that the People at *Churultecal* and *Cempoal* have informed against me, but pray give no Credit, for the future, to any Thing that is said about me, but what you experience and see; for these were my Enemies; they revolted, at your Arrival, from their Obedience to me, and endeavoured to ingratiate themselves in your Favour by exclaiming against me. I am no Stranger to what they informed you; they told you, that I possessed Palaces and Houses which were lined with Gold; that my Household Goods and Utensils were of pure Gold; that I had assumed Honour to myself, which was only due to God, &c. but behold, my House is built of Stone, Lime and Clay. Then opening his Cloaths, he shewed him his Breast; Behold, says he, I am composed of Flesh and Bone, and a mortal Man, that may be touched and felt, this will convince you of their false Report.

"I have indeed some Utensils which were left me by my Predecessors; but all that is in my Possession is your's, you may make such Use thereof as you think fit. I will remove to another House, where I used to reside, and give all necessary Orders for your Accommodation; in the mean while expel every Thought that may make you uneasy, and shew yourself chearful, for you are in your own Country, and your own Dwelling."

Cortez made him a short Answer; he confirmed him in his Notion, telling him, that his King was the same whom they so long had expected. After they had done, *Mutezuma* took his Leave and departed.

Not long after this, when the *Spaniards* were busy
in

ENTERTAINMENT. 39

in building a Castle at another Place, they were attacked by a Party of *Mexicans*, under the Command of their Captain *Qualpopoca*, who demolished their Works, and killed several of the *Spaniards*; on which Account the *Spaniards* set Fire to the City of *Almira*, and killed a great Number of *Indians*. The Prisoners that were taken, laid all the Blame upon *Muteczuma*, protesting that they had acted according to his Order, and that he had commanded them to fall upon the *Spaniards*.

From this Time *Cortez* contrived to take *Muteczuma* Prisoner, and keep him in his own Power; for which End he beset all the Avenues to his Palace, and he himself rode to *Muteczuma*, under Pretence of paying him a Visit: At first they talked merrily together, and at this familiar Conversation *Muteczuma* presented *Cortez* with several Curiosities of Gold; he also gave him his Daughter, other *Spaniards* he presented with the Daughters of his Courtiers. At last the Admiral told him in plain Terms the Business he came about, and informed him, how he was accused of being concerned in the Assault made upon his Countrymen, in which several of them had lost their Lives, and that it had been done by his Command.

The King excused himself to the utmost, and protested it was done without his Knowledge: He called immediately several *Mexicans*, to whom he delivered the Seal of State, which he wore about his Neck, and was composed of Jewels, with this Command: Depart instantly to *Almira* (a City about 70 Leagues from *Mexico*) and bring bound before me *Qualpopoca*, and others that were concerned in that Fact, likewise every one that shall presume to hinder the Execution of your Commission.

Cortez returned *Muteczuma* Thanks for his Readiness in detecting the Criminals, but intimated at the same Time, that as he was under an Obligation to give a strict Account to his King and Master concerning his People, it would be requisite for *Muteczuma* to reside with him in the same Palace; of which he

40 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

might chuse the best Apartments, and where he should be waited upon, and attended by his own Courtiers, and the *Spaniards*. *Muteczuma* did not at all relish this, but at last, by overmuch Persuasion and good Words, he consented, and ordered his Domesticks to prepare the Lodgings for his Reception, after which he was carried thither on a Litter, his Nobles and Courtiers attending, as it were, the Funeral Obsequies of the *Mexicans* Liberty.

Some Days after, *Qualpopoca* was brought in a Sedan, and delivered to *Cortez*, who sent him to Prison, together with the rest that were concerned in the Assault and Murder of the *Spaniards*: They all confessed freely that the *Spaniards* had been killed by their Hands; and being asked, whether they were subject to *Muteczuma*; Is there any other Lord I am to obey? said *Qualpopoca*: Being again asked, whether they had killed the *Spaniards* by the King's Order, or of their own Accord, they said it had been done without his Orders: But after they had received Sentence to be burnt, they all declared that they had *Muteczuma's* Command so to do. Their continuing in this Tone when they went to be executed, caused *Muteczuma's* Legs to be fettered, at which he was much surprized, as he was rejoiced, when the same Day they were taken off again by *Cortez's* Order.

Cortez, after this, acquainted the Lords of the Land, and other Inhabitants who came to wait upon their King, that it was his Master's Pleasure *Muteczuma* should govern the Kingdom of *Mexico* henceforth, as he had done before, yet as a Vassal to his King: He gave *Muteczuma* his Liberty to reside at his other Palace, or to continue with him: But the King chose to stay where he was, telling *Cortez*, that he was as well accommodated there, as he could be any where else; which he did out of Policy, in order to shun all Opportunities of being unwarily drawn in by his Countrymen, thereby to gain the Ill-will of *Cortez*.

Sometimes

ENTERTAINMENT. 41

Sometimes he would divert himself with taking a Tour in the Country, but had always four or six *Spanish* Spies about him, who watched his Conduct very narrowly : On such an Occasion he was commonly attended by at least 3000 *Mexicans*, the greatest Part of which were Princes, Lords, and Nobles of the Land, who diverted him with Feasting, Entertainments, Singing, and Dancing.

One Day *Mutexuma* had summoned all his Princes, Lords and Nobles, and the States of the whole Empire, to repair to *Mexico* : Being come in his Presence, he made a pathetick Speech, and admonished them henceforth to acknowledge the King of *Spain* for their lawful Sovereign, and to pay him their Tribute and Obedience, since he was their ancient and natural Lord : I myself, said he, shall not be remiss in shewing the same Duty. He delivered his Speech in shedding of Tears, and heavy Sighs and Groans, in which he was joined by the whole Assembly : After this the States took their Oath of Fidelity to the King of *Spain* ; and to testify their Sincerity, they delivered to *Cortez* a Quantity of Gold, about 3240 Ducats, which was a fifth Part, and according to *Cortez's* dividing, belonged to the King of *Spain's* Exchequer ; besides the Gold and Silver Utensils, costly Feather Work, Shields, precious Stones, and other valuable Things, which *Cortez* put apart for the Use of his Master, then Emperor *Charles V.* and were valued at about 100,000 Ducats.

Cortez, who is the Author of this History, protests, that King *Mutexuma* had Abundance of Creatures imitated in Gold, Silver, precious Stones, and admirable fine Feathers, to the greatest Perfection, of which he had sent several Presents to the King of *Spain*.

The King himself made several fine Presents to *Cortez*, and among the rest, such Suits as cannot be compared with any in the World, for their peculiar Workmanship, Variety of Colours, and their orderly Distribution : Among them were several Habits both for Men and Women, exceeding rich and fine ; also Carpets and Counterpanes, either wove of Cotton

42 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

or beautiful Feathers; he also presented him with twelve *Zerbatans*, or Wind Tubes, which they used for shooting of Birds; they were curiously laid over with various Colours, and both Ends covered with Plates of Gold, wrought in an exquisite artful Manner: The Purses which belonged to those Tubes, were wove of Gold Thread, and filled with Bullets of pure Gold.

Whilst thus *Mutezuma* and *Cortez* enjoy'd a perfect Harmony and good Understanding, and every Thing seem'd, as it were, settled in Peace; a dangerous Spark, that had for some Time lain conceal'd in its Embers, broke forth in a Flame: This is exemplified in the Person of *Alvarado*, a *Spanish* Colonel, who envying the Dignities, Honours, and Riches bestowed upon *Cortez*, wanted to contrive how, by removing him, he might supply his Place, and brought his Matters to that Pass, as to occasion a Civil War, by which *Cortez* was oblig'd to go with some Forces from *Mexico* to *Vera Cruz*. His Absence was attended with melancholy Consequences: *Cortez* had left a Sub-Governor in his Room, who had Ill-Nature and Barbarity enough, not only to hinder the Merry-makings and Dancings, which the *Mexicans* perform'd in Honour to *Mutezuma*, but caused several of them to be strangled; at which the whole City was in an Uproar, took to Arms, and went directly to besiege the Palace where he and *Mutezuma* resided.

In order to quell this Tumult in Time, *Alvarado* oblig'd *Mutezuma* and another Person of great Note, to go to the Top of the Palace, and by presenting themselves to pacify the enraged Multitude: When the *Indians* saw their King, they were all silent, to hear what he had to propose to them. His Attendant, with a loud Voice, call'd to them, and bid them desist from molesting the *Spaniards* any more: That now they could be but of little Service to his Person, considering his being kept a Prisoner by them. Whereupon a courageous noble Youth, whom the *Mexicans* intended to chuse for their King, made him this Answer: " Be gone, said he, thou timorous and cowardly

ly Wretch; we deny thee all Obedience, and will endeavour to inflict on thee the Punishment thou hast too well deserv'd:" He call'd *Mutezuma* in Derision, a Woman, and aim'd his Arrows at him; the common Mob also flung Stones at him, and, as *Cortez* writes, he was hit by one on his Head, of which he died the third Day after: But other Authors say, he had been massacred by the *Spaniards*, before they retired from thence; for the enraged *Mexicans* did so perplex them, that they were obliged to build two Bridges over two dangerous Waters, and to make their Escape at Midnight: Notwithstanding this, the *Spaniards* were pursued by the *Mexicans*, and being attack'd by them with uncommon Resolution and Courage, they killed above 300 of them, and took several Prisoners, whom they offer'd to their Idols in a most terrible Manner.

Mutezuma died a miserable Death; his Carcass lay unburied, like Carrion, 'till some of his Servants, out of Compassion, burnt his Body and buried the Ashes in a mean Place: In this Manner the large and powerful Kingdom of *Mexico* lost not only its King, but was also entirely stripp'd of its Liberty; for tho' at that Time the *Spaniards* were oblig'd to quit the Field, they were soon supplied with fresh Succours, and after many Battles and Engagements, wherein innumerable *Indians* were slain, brought it at last under their Subjection, in which it has continued every since.

CHAP. III.

Of the Revolution of Siam.

THE Intrigues of the *Jesuits*, which were the Occasion of this Revolution, were begun and managed by the Means of a certain *Greek* Christian, call'd *Constantine Faulcon*, who, about the Year 1660, being but Ten Years of Age, came to a Resolution of seeking his Fortune Abroad, since he foresaw he could not maintain it according to his Quality at Home. The first Adventure he made was into *England*, where he lived some Years, and then went in-

44 The WINTER'S EVENING

to the *East-Indies*, and was employ'd by some *English* Merchants as their Factor at *Siam*. He continued some Time in that Service, and had the good Fortune to be known to the chief Minister of State, who in that Country is call'd *Barcalon*, who finding him to be diligent, laborious, and capable of doing Business, brought him into the Management of publick Affairs under him; by which Means he came to be not only acceptable, but very necessary to the King in the Dispatch of several important Matters. The Advantage of his *European* Education, and the great Knowledge in Trade and Commerce both there and in the *Indies*, helped him so far into the Favour and good Opinion of the King of *Siam*, that after the Death of the *Barcalon*, he was advanced to be one of his chief Ministers, especially for the Management of Foreign Affairs.

The Intrigue was carried on at Court, under the plausible Pretext of freeing the Gulph of *Siam* from the *Dutch* Yoke, who having *Malacca*, a strong Fort at the Entrance of it, in their Hands, had imposed a Toll and Duty on all the *Indian* Ships that traded, or came into that Bay; but the true Design was first to bring the Kingdom under the *French* Jurisdiction, and then to change the established Religion of the Country; towards the Attainment of which, the said *Greek* had prevailed on the King, who having none but two Brothers to succeed him, to adopt a young Nobleman, that had been brought up in the Religion which the *Jesuits* propagate in the *Indies*, to be his Successor, under whom the Conspiracy was to take Effect. The *French* were already in Possession of the two chief Places that open a Passage into that Kingdom; the one is called *Bancock*, a strong Fortress on the Mouth of the River of *Siam*; *Morgen* is the other Place, on the Frontiers: And as if this had not been enough to please them, the King allowed them to have a Command in the Guards about his own Person.

It was with much Resentment, that the Officers of State, and the great Men of the Kingdom suffered those
pernicious

ENTERTAINMENT. 45

pernicious Intrigues to be carried on. They observ'd that those great *French* Squadrons, filled with Numbers of Men, Ammunition and Warlike Preparations, aimed at something else, besides the securing of the Trade and Commerce of the *French* Merchants, whose Stock was not of that Importance, neither were they so far unacquainted with the affairs Abroad, as to believe, that those Rich Presents, that came so frequently from *France*, were sent for no other End, than to preserve a strict Amity between the Kings of both Nations. They could not bear the specious Discourses of the *Jesuits*, who would persuade those People, that all the Pains, Fatigues and Dangers they had endured in coming amongst them, proceeded from no other Principle, but the strong Desire they had of instructing them in Arts and Sciences, and to render them capable of being taught the Way to Heaven.

On the contrary, they saw that those Missionaries had fallen upon the same treacherous Methods to overturn their Government, that they had formerly practised in *Japan*, where they made it more their Business to subject that Kingdom to the *Spanish* Yoke, than to convert it to Christianity.

These were the Reflections that the Grandees of *Siam* entertain'd on this Occasion; but they were willing to stay 'till the Death of the King, before they attempted the shaking off this foreign Yoke.

In the Month of *May*, 1688, the King fell sick at his Palace at *Louvo*; the Report whereof was no sooner spread abroad, than the Conspiracy broke out, which was contrived by one *Pitrachard*, chief Minister of State, and Governor of the Palaces of *Siam* and *Louvo*.

On the 26th of *May* at Night, this Minister caused a great many Troops to enter the Castle of *Louvo*, where the King lay sick, and presently made himself Master of his Royal Person, seized his adopted Son, and his two Brothers, making every one of them believe, it was done to secure the King's Life, from a desperate Conspiracy lately discovered
against

46 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

against him; he further said to every one of them apart; That the King was so ill, that he was past all Hopes of Recovery, and that he would make it his Business to set the Crown on their Heads. This was done on Purpose that they might let him go on, and not interrupt him in the Execution of so plausible a Design; and it had all the Success that he could have hoped for.

Monf. *Constance* was no sooner acquainted with what had past, and with what was carrying on in the Castle, but he went immediately thither, accompanied with a numerous Train of his Friends, and particularly of the *French* Officers of Note: As he was entering the Castle he told those that were posted round about it, that he was going to see the King; but he had scarce entered the Gates, when they seized on him, and on the *French* Officers, who where all secured and kept together in one of the Apartments of the Palace.

The next Day *Pitrachard* sent for M. *Constance* to come to him, and order'd him to go and tell the *French* Officers that there was no Design of keeping them Prisoners, and what was done, was occasioned by a most dangerous Plot, that they had lately discovered against the Life of the King; but that all the Parties concerned in it, not being as yet fully known, they were under the Necessity of securing all Persons of Note, until a clear Discovery; *And as for you, M. Constance, I charge you that you say this, and no more to those French Officers; and know, that you shall be narrowly watched and overheard.* This Complimental Visit was only an Artifice *Pitrachard* used to moderate the Resentments of the *French*, and to hinder them from taking Measures for their common Defence and Security. M. *Constance* went and delivered the Message precisely in the Terms he was ordered.

The King of *Siam* had several Troops of Guards about his Person, whereof one was made up of *Europeans* of different Nations, but especially of *French*. The *Siam* Troop of Guards consisting of 150 Men,
was

ENTERTAINMENT. 47

was commanded by *French Officers*; these were sent to *Thalapson*, a Pleasure House the King had at some Distance from *Louvo*, whither *Pitrachard* had sent a great Body of Forces to encamp, to be in Readiness, as Occasion should require. Two Days after, the *French Officers* that had been taken into Custody at *Louvo*, together with *Monf. Constance*, were sent thither under a strong Guard.

When Matters had thus far proceeded, *Pitrachard* sent again for *Monsieur Constance*, and had him brought before him; severely reproaching him, charging him with Treachery and Perfidiousness against the King and Government of *Siam*, and then caused him to be put to the ordinary and extraordinary Torture, to force him to discover and declare who were his Accomplices in the Management of the Intrigue for making the King a Christian, and subjecting the Kingdom to the *French Power*: And when he had continued him several Hours in the Torture, he ordered the King's Adopted Son to be brought to the Place, and caused his Head to be cut off immediately, and a String to be run through it, and then to be hung about *Monsieur Constance's Neck*.

This Tragedy was acted on the 28th of *May*. The two following Days *Monsieur Constance* was again tortured in the cruellest Manner, having the young Prince's Head always hanging on his Breast Night and Day. Thus they continued to Torment him, 'till the 4th of *June*, when he expired under the Hands of his Tormentors.

His Goods and all his Effects were seized, and his Family carried into Prison. His Lady, after she had undergone a severe Examination, without declaring or confessing what they expected, was, at last, put to the Torture, which she endured for several Days together; after which, they threw her into Prison, where she was kept three Months with Iron Chains on her Hands, and Fetters on her Feet; at the End whereof they made her and all her Family Slaves, in which disgraceful Quality they took off her Irons, opened the Prison Doors, and turned her out.

Pitrachard,

48 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

Pitrachard, who was determined to set the Crown on his own Head, after he had dispatched the King's adopted Son and *Monsieur Constance* out of the Way, began now to consider how to get rid of the two young Princes, that seemed to obstruct the Execution of his Design, and this was the Expedient he made use of to bring it about. He made each of them in particular, and severally believe, that what he had acted in all this Revolution, was in order to bring and settle them on the Throne; but as Things were yet in Confusion, there was a Necessity for their retiring for some Time to *Thalapsan*, until he should advertise them of their Return. These poor unfortunate Princes were easily persuaded by the Magick of those cunning Insinuations and plausible Pretences to go thither; but they were murdered in the Way by a Party of hired Russians. Then *Pitrachard* fell upon all the most considerable Persons that were their Friends, and caused them to be put to Death or imprisoned.

The next Step he took, was to set himself against the Christians, whom he was resolved to drive out of the Kingdom; and to facilitate it the more, he commanded all the *Portuguese* Christians to meet together, and retire into a little Island near *Siam*, threatening to put all those to Death, that should make their Escape out of it.

The *English* also had the Misfortune to feel the Effect of his Indignation; for they were first plundered of all they had, and then thrown into Prison. As for the *French* that were at *Siam* and *Louvo*, he made no open Assault upon them at first, because their Numbers were so considerable; he was willing to surprize those that were at *Bancock* and *Morgen*, rather than openly to attack them. The most considerable Persons of the *French* Nation that were at *Thalapsan* were *Monsieurs de Cargis, de Fretteville, de Vandrille, de Laisse, Bresley*, the Engineer, and another Engineer; and it was impossible for them to make their Escape from *Louvo* as yet; but fearing lest they should meet with the same Fate, the other Christians had found, they

ENTERTAINMENT. 49

they fled towards *Siam*, to the Quarters of the *French* Company, with an Intent to seize on some Ship or other, to carry them to the *French* Garrison at *Bancock*, where *Monf. Farges*, General of the *French* Forces, commanded, and to inform him of what past; but *Pitrachard* being advertised of their Flight, sent immediately a Body of 6 or 7000 armed Men. These few Officers, tho' the bravest and the most resolute Men of their Nation, were much surprized to see so early in the Morning, and within two Leagues of *Siam*, so great a Detachment of the Army before and behind them, to hinder their getting into the Town, and making a Virtue of Necessity, they put themselves into a Posture of Defence, resolving to sell their Lives at as dear a Rate as they could; but some *Mandarins* coming up to them, told them they were in no Danger; they assured them, that they were come, not only to do them no Harm themselves, but to prevent their receiving any from others, and their Business was to bring them back to *Louvo*, as they were commanded by their King: The *French* Gentlemen, overcome by such obliging Expressions, surrendered themselves.

They were treated the first Day with much Civility; but they next Day after, they stripped them of all, tied them to the Horses Tails, and forced them to march: In this Ceremony they brought them up to *Louvo*, and treated them most outrageously all the Way they went, in so much that *Mont. Bresley*, the Engineer, died soon after, and the rest had much ado to out-live the Miseries and Indignities they suffered. They no sooner arrived at *Louvo*, but they were chained two and two together by the Neck, and then thrown into Prison; all their Domesticks were treated in the like Manner, as well as all the other *French* that staid at *Louvo*.

All this was contrived and executed with surprising Diligence and Secrecy: The *French*, who were at *Bancock* and *Morgen*, had not the least Knowledge of what had been done in the two Cities of *Siam* and *Louvo*.

E

Pitrachard

50 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

Pitrachard had now taken his Measures, and determined to destroy the *French* one Way or other; but since he would not venture upon doing of it by open Force, he was resolved to try what Cunning and Surprize would do. Wherefore he sent one *Man-pai*, who had been the Year before in *France*, in Quality of first Ambassador, and after his Return, was honoured with the Title of *Barcalon*, or Chief Minister of State, to *Bancock*, to persuade *Monf. Des Farges*, General of the *French*, to come to him, and to tell him, that it was the King's express Pleasure, that he should immediately come, and confer with him about some Affairs of the last Importance, and make what Haste he possibly could, to be at *Louvo*.

The General, who was altogether ignorant of what had been done, and suspecting no Fraud, believed what the *Barcalon* had told him, and that the King had sent for him as usual; he therefore set out from *Bancock*, the 7th of *June*, and went by Water; but he had hardly gone two Leagues from the Place, when he perceived that some extraordinary Business was in Agitation, and apprehended there might be some Design formed against him: For he could not imagine why he was surrounded with so great a Number of Barges and Galleys, armed with Stones and Field-Pieces, that perpetually accompanied him 'till he came to *Siam*; where he no sooner arrived, but he was immediately put into a Palanquin, or close Litter, and carried to *Louvo*, being guarded by several Troops of armed Men; all this still encreased his Apprehension of Danger the more, as he never before on such Occasions, was treated in such a Manner, he always having had the Privilege to approach the King's Person with Freedom, and without so many Attendants.

When he came to *Louvo*, he was directly conducted to the King's Palace, and was not allowed the Liberty of going first to the *Jesuit's* House to refresh himself, as he desired, tho' his Intention was rather to get some Information about the present Posture of Affairs, which he perceived to appear much changed,

ENTERTAINMENT. 51

changed, to what they had been before. The same Day of his Arrival he had several Visits paid him from the *Mandarins*, and after Supper he had one of *Pitrachard*, who after some little Conversation, spoke to him with an unusual Air of Pride and Haughtiness, to this Effect: That the King had caused *Monf. Constance* to be put to Death, for many heinous Crimes he had been found guilty of, in the Management of those Employments he was entrusted with, and that the King was inclined to give him that Place, knowing him to be a Man of Integrity, Faithfulness and Understanding.

He further told him, that the King was engaged in a War; that there was a Necessity of sending for all the *French Forces* to join in a Body, and march against the Enemy, to hinder the Invasion that the Kingdom was threaten'd with; and that he had also wrote to *Monf. Bruham*, Governor of *Morgen*, to the same Purpose.

Monf. Des Farges, who saw plainly that these Proposals were nothing but a meer Contrivance, and like so many Snares that they had laid to catch him, of which he was fully convinced in a very little Time afterwards, began now to consider what was best to be done, to get out of the Danger he so unluckily was surrounded with: The best Expedient he could then think of, was, to give this Answer to *Pitrachard*; That the King of *France*, his Master, had sent him to serve the King of *Siam*, and that he was now ready to obey his Commands: But that he thought it highly necessary to go himself in Person to *Bancock*, to bring the Soldiers with him, in regard that the Officers who commanded in his Absence, would not quit the Fort upon a bare Letter.

This seemed so reasonable, that he presently obtained Leave to return to the Fort, but on Condition to leave his two Sons who came along with him, as Hostages for the Performance of his Promise. But before he left *Louvo* he was much pressed by *Pitrachard* to write to *Monf. Bruham*; but he told him,

that unless he sent an Officer of his own to carry the Letter, it would be of no Signification.

This Answer was not complied with, and as he was obliged to write, he disguised his Hand and Style so, that *Monf. de Brubam* might suspect it, and give no Credit to the Contents thereof; and by good Providence it fell out just as he would have wished.

Monf. Farges had no sooner returned to *Bancock*, but he abandoned the little Fort, and drew off all the *French* into the great Fort, not having Men enough to hold out in both Places. All the Houses which were near it, he caused to be pillaged, and then burnt; and all the Cannon he could not carry with him, he caused to be nailed up, or broke. And because he had not Time enough to Demolish the Fort, by reason of the great Number of Forces, which *Pitrachard* had sent after him, to take Possession of the Place, he did all that was possible, to ruin, and beat it to pieces with his Cannon.

Pitrachard, perceiving by this, that *Monf. Des Farges* had discovered his rebellious Designs and Practices, and that there were no Prospect or Hopes of returning with his Soldiers to *Siam*, sent down an Army of 60,000 Men, made up of *Mahometans*, *Chinese* and *Malayans*, against the Fort of *Bancock*, to besiege the *French* that were in it, with Orders to cut all their Throats. But such was the Resolution and Bravery wherewithal they defended themselves, that this open Investing and Attacking of them proved as unsuccessful, as the Artifices that were used to trepan them to come to *Siam*, were ineffectual: For when so vast an Army had endeavoured all they could, during two Months close Siege, by frequent Attacks and Storming, to Force their Entry into the Place, and had been always beat off with great Loss, by the Handful of *French*, who were not above 300 in all; he saw himself obliged, at last to send to the General, and ask Conditions of Peace.

During this Siege, all the *French* who were at *Siam* and *Louvo*, were made close Prisoners, and treated with the utmost Rigour and Severity, without Consideration

ENTERTAINMENT. 53

deration of Quality or Age. Nor could the Bishop of *Metolopolis*, who had lived long amongst them, and was the Apostolick Vicar in the greatest Part of the *East-Indies*, be exempted from his Share of the common Calamity that fell upon his Profession and Countrymen: For when *Pitrachard* saw he could not recover *Bancock* out of the Hands of the *French* by Force, he caused the old Bishop to be sent for, and conducted to the Fort, and there to be stript and tied to a Gibbet, with a Halter round his Neck, and fasten'd at the Place where the *French* Cannon were most levelled, and did most Execution, hoping that the Sight of so moving a Spectacle, and the Consideration they had of the Person of their Bishop, should prevail with them to moderate the Fury of their Guns, and hearken to a treaty of Peace.

All the *French* Jesuits and Missionaries in that Kingdom were seized and imprisoned, being accused of Sedition and Treason against the Government; all their Goods, Furniture, and other Effects, were likewise seized and confiscated.

As all this could not be acted without coming to the Knowledge of *Monf. de Bruham*, Governor of *Morgen*, who had now been fully informed from several Hands of what had past both at *Louvo* and *Siam*, he began to consider how to extricate himself out of the great Danger he was every where surrounded with; for he had but 52 Soldiers, three Captains, three Lieutenants, and three Ensigns in all, to guard a large Fortrefs that was open on all Sides. The best Thing he could think of in that Extremity, was, to seize a small Frigate of 26 Guns, belonging to the King of *Siam*, to save himself and his Men in, when he should be driven to his last Shifts. This he happily executed towards the End of *June*, and it was of great use to him in the conclusion of the Affair: For when he had been besieged and closely attacked for seventeen Days together, by an Army of 12,000 Men, assaulting and beating them often, and as often repulsed, and wanting Water and other necessary Provisions, without any possible Hopes of being re-

54 The WINTER'S EVENING

freshed, he was constrained at last, to abandon the Place, and carry all his Men, and what else he conveniently could, on board the Frigate, and got safe off.

On the 25th of July, the Bishop of *Metolopolis* being released out of the miserable Circumstances before *Bancock*, was sent into the Place, to obtain a Commission and full Power from the General *Mons. Des Farges*, to negotiate a Treaty of Peace with such Persons as *Pitrachard* should appoint for that Purpose; which was soon granted him, and next Day he returned to *Siam* to conclude it.

A little Time after, News was brought that the King of *Siam* was dead, without telling either the Day, or Manner of his Death; whereupon *Pitrachard* began to prepare for his Coronation, and about five Days after, he set out for *Louvo* in great State and Magnificence, and went to *Siam*, where he was crowned King without any Opposition, about the Beginning of August, 1688.

September 30, News was brought, that a Peace was concluded and signed between the new King and the French on the following Conditions:

That the French should surrender the Fort of *Bancock*.

That all the French should have Leave to depart the Kingdom.

That they should have two Frigates belonging to the French Company; a Ship of the French King's, called the *Auriflamme*, and a fourth of 74 Guns, that the King of *Siam* was to give to *Mons. Des Farges* to embark in, and transport them out of the King of *Siam's* Dominions.

This Account was dated from *Siam*, in October, 1688.

Advices from the Coast of *Coramandel*, of the 20th of February, 1689, were, that *M. Des Farges* was arrived on that Coast with the four Ships, having all the French, as well Secular and Military, as the Ecclesiasticks on board them, that were any where to be heard of, or known to be in the Kingdom of *Siam*, and that the King had published a Declaration, severely prohibiting any French to stay in the Kingdom, and threatening

ENTERTAINMENT. 55

threatening that if any one of them should be found to stay behind, they should be immediately put to Death, and all the *Europeans* that should harbour or conceal them, should be treated with the same Rigour.

Monf. *Des Farges*, before his Departure from *Bangkok*, delivered into the Hands of the King of *Siam*, the unfortunate Widow of Monf. *Constance*, upon a Fancy the Jesuits had put into his Head; that she being a Christian, and extremely beloved by the King's Son, would marry him, and contribute her Endeavours to make him a Christian; with which plausible Imaginations those good Fathers flattered themselves, once more to be established in that Kingdom, with the same Advantages of Power, Credit and Fortune, as they had before.

When the Treaty was signed between the King of *Siam* and the *French* General, all the *French* and *English* who were made Prisoners at *Louvo*, were the next Day conducted to *Siam*, and set at Liberty.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Revolution of Portugal, in the Year 1640.

THE Kingdom of *Portugal* is one of those Provinces which pass under the general Denomination of the *Spanish* Dominions of *Old* and *New Spain*. It is about 120 Leagues in Length, and 50 in Breadth. Its Soil is fertile, and the Air healthful. The Crown is hereditary, and the King's Power is absolute; the Inquisition is kept up with the utmost Rigour. The *Portuguese* are of a fierce and fiery Disposition; great Bigots, and superstitious to Excess. When the *Goths* made themselves Masters of all *Spain*, *Portugal* was sometimes governed by its own Kings, and at other Times it came united to the Sovereignty of *Castile*.

It was in the Beginning of the ninth Century, under the Reign of *Roderick*, the last King of the *Goths*, when the *Moors* and *Arabians* invaded *Spain*, and made themselves Masters of the whole Kingdom; they

56 The WINTER'S EVENING

they were conducted thither by Count *Julian*, a *Spanish* Nobleman, out of Revenge for the Indignities which *Roderick* had offered to his Daughter.

Portugal shared the Fate of the rest of the Provinces, and became subject to the *Moors*; when *Almanzor*, their King, appointed several Governors, who, after his Death, made themselves independent, and formed their Government into little Sovereignities; but their Luxury, and different Interests, soon brought about their Ruin and Destruction.

In the Beginning of the 12th Century, they were driven out of *Portugal* by *Henry*, Count of *Burgundy*, Son to the King of *France*, who, with a Zeal for the Christian Religion, engaged in the Holy War against the Infidels, and by his glorious Achievements and Success in Battle, without assuming the Title of King, was the first that established the Monarchy of *Portugal*.

Prince *Alphonso*, his Son, succeeded him both in Fortune and Valour: By his victorious Arms over the *Moors*, he added to his Father's Conquests. The States thereupon proclaimed him King, and agreed, that that Title should devolve upon his Successors.

This Family swayed the Scepter of *Portugal* for almost 500 Years, when Don *Sebastian* succeeded his Grandfather. This Prince had, in his Minority, filled his Mind with Sentiments of Honour, and his Soul with Devotion: He was told, on the one Hand, what Victories his Predecessors had obtained over the *Moors*, and on the other, he was reminded by the Jesuits of his Duty to propagate the Gospel.

These different Ideas of Honour and Religion made such an Impression on his Heart, that, as soon as he had taken the Government upon himself, he thought of transporting an Army into *Africa*.

A Civil War, which broke out about that Time in *Morocco*, seemed to favour his Design; and being invited by the contending Parties, the wisest of his Counsellors could not dissuade him from so dangerous an Expedition; but he embarked an Army of 13,000 Men, who, by Stratagems, indeed to pursue, as they thought,

ENTERTAINMENT. 57

thought, their flying Enemy, were drawn off from their Entrenchments and their Fleet; *Meluc*, the King of *Maracco*, put his Army in Battle Array himself, and foreseeing that the News of his Death would strike a sudden Damp on the Courage of his Soldiers, gave Orders to his Officers, that in case he should die in the Heat of the Battle, he being then in a bad State of Health, the Misfortune should be carefully concealed, and that even after his Death, his Aid de Camp should repair to his Litter, as in his Life-time, to receive fresh Orders; and having exhorted his Soldiers to fight bravely for their Religion and Country, the Battle began; the great Artillery being discharged, and the Army joined, the *Portuguese* Infantry soon routed the *Moorish* Foot; then the Horse falling upon the Infidels, they retired to the very Center of the Army, where the King was, who being enraged at so unexpected a Sight, threw himself out of his Litter, and Sword in Hand, rallied his flying Troops, and led them back to the Engagement, by which Fatigue he exhausted his remaining Strength and Spirits, so that he fainted. Being conducted into his Litter, he recovered Strength enough to put his Fingers to his Lips, to signify Secrecy, and then expired. His Commands were obeyed, and the News of his Death was concealed; the *Moorish* Horse advancing, hemmed in *Sebastian's* Army, and attacked them on every Side; the Cavalry was drove back upon the Infantry, whom they trampled under Foot; the Infidels, seeing the *Portuguese* in this Confusion, embraced so favourable an Opportunity, and Sword in Hand, fell upon the conquered Troops, without giving any Quarter. King *Sebastian* was slain, and the *Moors* obtained a compleat Victory.

Cardinal Don *Henry*, the late unfortunate King's great Uncle, succeeded him, who being a Man of 67 Years of Age, and in Priest's Order, having no Prospect of any Issue, the Succession was claimed by several Competitors, among which was *Philip II.* King of *Spain*; *Catharine* of *Portugal*, espoused to Don *James*, Duke of *Braganza*; the Duke of *Savoy*;
the

58 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

the Duke of *Parma*, &c. they all published their Manifestos, declaring their Pretensions to the Crown.

Philip was Son to the Infanta *Isabella*, eldest Daughter of King *Emanuel*. The Dutcheß of *Braganza* was Grand-Daughter to the same King *Emanuel*, by *Edward* his second Son; and several others who were nearly related to the Crown. Among the rest, the Pope put in a Claim, who looked upon *Portugal* as a fat Living in his Gift, and, like many modern Patrons, would have willingly presented himself, it being left vacant, by a Cardinal.

Philip, King of *Spain*, and the Dutcheß of *Braganza*, appeared to have the best Title: The Duke her Spouse, though not in a direct Line, was of the Blood Royal, and she herself descended from Prince *Edward*; the King of *Spain* was Son to *Edward's* Sister. Each had their several Parties at Court, and the Cardinal King was daily pressed to decide the Difference, but he always evaded it, and had willingly lived to see all his pretended Heirs gone before him. However, his Reign lasted but seventeen Months, when *Portugal* became the unhappy Scene of Civil War.

He had by his last Will and Testament, appointed an Assembly of the States to be called, in order to settle the Succession: But King *Philip* being impatient, and unwilling to wait for their Decision, sent a powerful Army into *Portugal*, under the Command of the Duke of *Alva*, which determined his Possession of that Kingdom.

Notwithstanding the natural Aversion the *Portuguese* bore to the *Castilians*, they could not possibly keep them out. As they were not only disunited, but had no General, nor any regular Troops; most of the Towns, for Fear of being plundered, capitulated, and in a short Time, *Philip* was acknowledged their Sovereign.

After him, *Philip* III. and IV. succeeded, who used the *Portuguese* not like Subjects, but a conquered People. They were so weakened, that they had no
Hopes

ENTERTAINMENT. 59

Hopes left for the Recovery of their Liberty, and were loaded and oppressed with insupportable Taxes.

The Duke of *Olivarez*, Prime Minister to the King of *Spain*, thought, that the surest Way for establishing his Master's Power, was to remove the *Portuguese* Noblemen from their Places of Trust, and to impoverish the People, that they might not be able to shake off the *Spanish* Yoke. Moreover, he employed the *Portuguese* Youth in Foreign Wars, and drained the Kingdom of all those who were capable of bearing Arms.

But this Conduct of *Olivarez*, which was attended with Cruelty and Oppression, made the *Portuguese* unanimously resolve to free themselves from the heavy Burden they laboured under, and from the intolerable Tyranny of *Spain*.

Margaret of *Savoy*, Dutches of *Mantua*, was then in *Portugal*, where she had the Title of *Vice Queen*. *Vasconcelli*, a *Portuguese*, was her Secretary of State, and nearly attached to the *Spanish* Interest. This Man was a Creature of *Olivarez*, and an Instrument useful and necessary for extorting vast Sums of Money from the *Portuguese*. He was a perfect Master of Dissimulation, and by his Intrigues, he kept the Nobility perpetually jealous of one another, by which Means the Government grew every Day more absolute; *Olivarez* well knowing, that whilst the *Grande*s were engaged in Animosities among themselves, they would have but little Regard for the common Cause.

The Duke of *Braganza* was the only Man in all *Portugal*, whom the *Spaniards* were jealous of; but his Behaviour was such, as discovered not the least Mark of aspiring to the Crown, which of Right belonged to him. He was a Prince of a mild and easy Temper: Though he hated the *Spaniards*, yet he was not uneasy, because he had it not in his Power to revenge himself. He entertained some Hopes of ascending the Throne of *Portugal*, yet, without Impatience, he contented himself with a distant Prospect of it; nor would he, for an Uncertainty, venture the

60 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

the Quiet of his Life, and an ample Fortune, which already made him superior to all the Subjects of that Kingdom. He diverted himself chiefly in Hunting, and other rural Exercises; in short, his Behaviour was such, that the *Spaniards* apprehended no Danger from him, and the *Portuguese* had no Reason but to wish him on the Throne of his Ancestors.

In the Year 1640, some new heavy Taxes were laid upon the People of *Evora*, which reduced them to Despair; they rose in a tumultuous Manner, loudly exclaiming against the *Spanish* Tyranny, and declaring themselves in Favour of the House of *Braganza*. Then the Court of *Spain* began to be sensible of their Error, in leaving so rich and powerful a Prince, in the Heart of a Kingdom, which they so lately had subdued, and to whose Crown he had such legal Pretensions. The Council of *Spain* thereupon determined immediately to secure the Duke of *Braganza*, at least not to let him continue any longer in *Portugal*. They proposed to him the Government of *Milan*, which he refused, as he pretended, on Account of the Weakness of his Constitution, and his being unacquainted with the Affairs of *Italy*.

This Excuse was approved of by *Olivarez*, but at the same Time he consulted other Means whereby to draw him to Court. The King of *Spain* was at that Time at the Head of his Army, with which he marched to subdue the Insurrection in *Catalonia*; he wrote therefore to the Duke of *Braganza*, inviting him to appear at the Head of the *Portuguese* Nobility, and to serve him in an Expedition, which could not miss being glorious and successful, since his Majesty commanded it in Person. But the Duke, who had no great Relish for Favours from the Court of *Spain*, excused himself, pretending his Birth would oblige him to a greater Expence than he was able at that Time to support.

This second Refusal alarmed *Olivarez*, who fearing, lest the *Evorians* had made an Impression upon his Thoughts, by reminding him of his Right to the Throne, contrived how to draw him treacherously
into

ENTERTAINMENT. 61

into *Spain*, and to shew him, at the same Time, all the seeming Testimonies of Sincerity and Friendship.

France and *Spain* were engaged in a War; the *French* Fleet had been seen off the Coast of *Portugal*; this seemed to furnish the *Spanish* Minister with a fair Opportunity to accomplish his Design. It was necessary that an Army should be standing under the Command of some brave General, to hinder the *French* from making a Descent, and the Commission was sent to the Duke of *Braganza*, with an absolute Power over all the Towns and Garrisons, with an unlimited Command, as though that Minister had delivered all *Portugal* into his Power.

But this was only a Bait to ensnare the Duke; for *Olivarez* had sent private Orders to the *Spanish* Admiral, that as soon as the Duke of *Braganza* should visit any of the Ports, he should put in, as if drove by Strefs of Weather; then to invite him on Board, set Sail, and bring him with all possible Expedition into *Spain*; but Providence seemed to have taken that Prince into her own Protection; for a violent Storm arose, dispersed the Fleet, and several Ships were cast away.

As *Olivarez* looked upon the Escape of the Duke as meer Chance, he was not in the least discouraged, but wrote him a Letter full of Complaisance, and pretended Friendship, deplored the Loss of the Fleet, and reminded him of carefully reviewing the Ports, and their Fortifications; and the better to conceal his villainous Intentions, he sent him 40000 Ducats to defray his Expences. At the same Time, he had sent private Orders to all the Governors, who were *Spaniards*, to secure him the first favourable Opportunity, and forthwith to convey him into *Spain*.

The Duke, plainly discovering that there was Treason intended, thought it just to return it. He wrote a Letter to *Olivarez*, wherein he told him, that with Joy he had accepted the Honour which the King had conferred upon him, promising to discharge

62 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

his Trust, in such a Manner as to deserve the Continuance of his Majesty's Favour.

The Duke now beginning to have a nearer Prospect of the Throne than ever, neglected no Opportunity of putting some of his Friends into Places of Trust, that they might be able to serve him on Occasion; he also employed the *Spanish* Money in making new Friends, and in confirming his Interest amongst those he had already on his Side; and as he mistrusted the *Spaniards* Design, he had always a large Number of Friends about him, whenever he visited the Forts.

The Conduct of *Olivarez* was highly blamed by the Court of *Spain*; for the Duke of *Braganza* had not only the Liberty, but was obliged to visit all *Portugal*, and by that Means laid the Foundation of his future Fortune. His magnificent Equipage drew the Eyes of all the admiring Crowd. He heard with Mildness all those that came to him; he always embraced every Opportunity of praising the Conduct of the Officers, and by frequent Acts of Munificence, won their Hearts. The Nobility were charmed with his free Deportment; he paid each the Respect due to his Quality; in short, every one thought that the Restoration of that Prince to the Throne of his Ancestors would be the greatest Happiness *Portugal* could possibly enjoy.

In the mean Time, his Party was endeavouring all they could to raise his Reputation, and to form a compleat Scheme for the Advancement of their Master; they reminded the Nobility of the honourable Posts their Forefathers had bore, when *Portugal* had its own Kings; that the Pride of the *Spaniards* was insufferable, that they drained the Country of the bravest Men, who were summoned to the Expedition against the *Catalonians*, where they were exposed to the greatest Dangers, without the Prospect of gaining the least Reputation.

Among the Merchants, they bewailed the Misery of their Country, which was ruined by the Injustice of the *Spaniards*, who had transferred that Trade
which

ENTERTAINMENT. 63

which *Portugal* carried on with the *Indies* to *Cadiz*, reminding them of the Felicity which the *Dutch* and *Catalonians* enjoyed, who had shaken off the *Spanish* Yoke. They exasperated the Clergy against the *Castilians*, telling them that their Privileges were violated, and that all the best and fattest Livings were possessed by foreign Incumbents.

Pinto, a *Portuguese* Nobleman, and Comptroller of the Duke's Household, had spared no Pains to discover such as were Malecontents, which he daily endeavoured to increase. He at last procured a Meeting of the Nobility and the Archbishop of *Lisbon*; this Prelate broke the Ice, and, in an eloquent Speech, represented to the Assembly the Misery their Country was reduced to, under the *Spanish* Government: That he hoped their meeting then together would not be in vain, and that he would rather chuse a thousand Deaths, than be obliged to see the Distresses of his Country increase. Having represented the State of the Kingdom in the most moving Manner, and recommended the Result of their freeing it from *Spanish* Slavery, the whole Assembly unanimously agreed to venture their Lives and Fortunes, rather than to bear the heavy Yoke any longer: But a Division arose among them concerning the Government they were to chuse; some were for a Commonwealth; others proposed the Duke of *Braganza*; others the Marquis *de Villarsal*; and a third Party was for the Duke *de Aviedo*; all three of the Royal Blood. But the Archbishop, wholly devoted to the Interest of the House of *Braganza*, soon prevailed over them so far, by Dint of Reason, and large Encomiums on the Prince, that they unanimously declared him King, promising each other to spare no Pains nor Labour to engage him to enter into their Measures; and having agreed on the Time for a second Meeting, the Assembly broke up.

Pinto having wrote privately to the Duke, and informed him of the Success of their Meeting, advised him to come, as if by Accident, to *Lisbon*, that by his Presence he might encourage the Conspirators,

64 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

and get an Opportunity of conferring with them. The Duke, upon this Advice, repaired directly to *Almada*, a Castle near *Lisbon*, on Pretence of visiting it, as he had done the other Fortifications; his Equipage was so magnificent, and the Number of Nobility, Gentry and Officers so great, that he appeared more like a Prince going to take Possession of a Kingdom, than a Governor of a Province. Being so near *Lisbon*, he was under an Obligation to pay his Respects to the Vice-Queen. The Populace having some Notice thereof, crowded the Avenues to the Palace-Yard to see him come along; they expressed such universal Joy, that it seemed as if they only wanted Resolution enough to put the Crown upon his Head.

But the Duke was too prudent to trust his Enterprize to a fickle, inconstant Multitude. After he had visited the Vice-Queen, and taken his Leave, he returned to *Almada*, without going through the City, lest he should increase the Jealousy of the *Spaniards*, who seemed to be a little disgusted with that Affection which the People shewed for the Duke.

Whilst the Duke was at the Castle of *Almada*, *Pinto* took Care to represent to his Friends what a fair Opportunity they now had to wait on the Prince, and to persuade him to accept of the Crown. They approved of his Counsel, and deputed him to the Duke for his Leave of admitting them to an Audience; he granted their Request, with this Proviso, that no more than three should be admitted in his Presence; whereupon three of the first Rank were pitched upon, who, coming by Night to the Palace, were introduced into his Chamber. *D'Almeida*, one of the Deputies, was their Orator, who represented to the Prince the present unhappy State of the Kingdom, and the Oppression the People suffered under the cruel *Castilians*. After this, he urged, that his Highness was himself exposed to their Treachery; that he must needs perceive, that *Olivarez* intended his Ruin; and that no other Refuge was left for his Safety, but the Throne; that he was to assure him
from

ENTERTAINMENT. 65

from the rest of his Friends, who were People of the first Quality, that they were all ready to conduct him thither, and to expose their Lives and Fortunes for his Service. In short he crowded his Speech with such strong Reasons and Arguments, as could not but be pleasing to the Prince; however, not to let them see his Heart, his Answer neither much lessened nor increased their Hopes. He told them, that he was too sensible of the Miseries *Portugal* had been reduced to, nor did he think himself secure from the *Spanish* Treachery; that he was obliged to them for the Affection they bore to him, and for the Love they had for their Country; but that he feared Matters were not ripe for so dangerous an Enterprize, whereof the Consequence might prove fatal to them all. After the Deputies had taken their Leave and departed, the Duke returned that Day to *Villaviciosa*, where he was no sooner arrived, but he communicated the Propositions made him, to his Consort. She was of the *Castilian* Family, and from her Childhood of an heroic Mind; she was a Lady of deep Penetration, and employed the greatest Part of her Time in Study for the Improvement of her Understanding: He represented the State of the Enterprize his Friends were contriving in all its frightful Colours, and started all the ill Consequences that might attend it; and having spoke his Sentiments, the Dutches declared herself in Favour of the Conspiracy. She asked him, in Case the *Portuguese* should accept of this Denial, and resolve to make themselves a Republick, whether he would side with them or the King of *Spain*? With my Countrymen, replied he, for whole Liberty I would willingly venture my Life. And why then, said she, cannot you do it for your own Sake? The Throne belongs to you, and should you die in the Attempt to recover it, your Fate would be glorious, and be more envied than pitied; when, on the other Hand, your Children and Posterity will curse your Memory for neglecting so fair an Opportunity of restoring to them what in Justice they ought to have had. These,

66 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

and many other Arguments of the like Nature, made him resolve to accept the Offer.

The extraordinary Testimony of Joy that was shewn at the Duke's paying a Visit to the Vice-Queen at *Lisbon*, had made the Court of *Spain* extremely jealous, and much alarmed *Olivarez*. Several Councils were held at *Madrid*, in which it was resolved upon to send for the Duke. *Olivarez* sent him a Letter by a Courier, acquainting him, that the King desired to be informed by his own Mouth of the Strength of all the Forts, Citadels, Garrisons, &c. He added, that his Friends at Court were overjoyed at the Thoughts of seeing him so soon, and that every one was prepared to receive him with the utmost Respect due to his Quality.

The Prince was Thunder-struck at this News, and now concluded that his Destruction was resolved upon, since they had left off their Caresses and Invitations, and sent positive Orders, and concluded he was betrayed.

But in order to gain Time enough to inform the Conspirators of his Danger, he sent, by Advice of the Dutches, a Gentleman, whose Capacity and Fidelity he could confide in, to the Court of *Madrid*, to notify to the *Spanish* Minister his Intention of waiting on the King as soon as possible. He had at the same Time given him private Orders to find out all plausible Pretences for delaying his Journey; he hoped, that in that Time the Conspiracy would be ripe, and he thereby be sheltered from the impending Storm.

The Conspirators, being informed of the Orders which the Duke had received, and fearing he might obey them, sent *Mendoza* to know his Intention, and to engage him firmly to their Party. This Gentleman was the rather pitched upon, because he was Governor of a Town near *Villaviciosa*; so that he could conceal the real Intent of his Journey; he did not dare to go directly to the Prince's House, but took an Opportunity to meet him in a Forest, where he delivered his Message, and insisted upon his Resolution

ENTERTAINMENT. 67

lution instantly to be either *Cesar* or *Nothing*. He told him that the Business would admit of no Delay, lest the Secret should be divulged, and their Design prove abortive. After this Conference, *Mendozo* returned home, and wrote to the Conspirators, " That " he had been hunting; that they had almost lost " their Game in the Pursuit; but at last the Day " proved a Day of good Sport."

Whilst the Conspirators were thus preparing, the Gentleman, who was sent by the Duke to *Madrid*, wrote daily, and pressed him not to defer his Journey any longer, telling him, that *Olivarez* refused to hear any Excuse he made. The Duke, to gain a little longer Time, ordered his Gentleman to acquaint the *Spanish* Minister, that he had long since been at *Madrid*, had he had Money enough to defray the Expences of his Journey, and to appear at Court suitable to his Quality; that as soon as he could receive a compleat Sum for that Purpose, he would set out immediately.

Having dispatched that Message, he consulted with the Dutchess and *Pinto* about the Execution of this Design. Among several Schemes that were proposed, it was resolved, that the Plot should break out at *Lisbon*; that the very Day he was proclaimed King in that Metropolis, he also should be proclaimed in every Place under his Dependance, and in every Borough and Village of which any of the Conspirators were the leading Men; that they should first seize the Palace, secure the Vice-Queen, and the *Spaniards* of Note. After this, the Duke assured *Pinto*, that in Case of any Change of Fortune, he always should continue his Affection for him, and then sent him to *Lisbon* with two Letters, one for *Almeida*, and the other for *Mendozo*, wherein he conjured them to be faithful, and courageously finish what they had begun.

Pinto, being arrived at *Lisbon*, delivered his Letters, and sent for *Lemos* and *Careo*, two rich Citizens, who had gone through all the Offices, and could have the People very much at their Command; they

still

68 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

still carried on Trade, and employed a vast Number of poor People: These Men were already drawn over to the Duke's Interest, and did all they could to encrease the poor People's Aversion to the *Spaniards*; they insinuated to them, that there were new Taxes to be laid on several Things at the Beginning of the next Year: When they observed any one of a hot, firey Temper, tho' they discharged him, pretending that the *Castilians* had utterly ruined the Trade, and that they could no longer employ him, yet they would extend their Charity towards him, in order to have him ready upon Occasion: Besides, they had engaged some of the greatest Merchants, who promised the Conspirators to have One-half of the City in Arms, in Case they would give them Warning of the Hour they intended to rise.

Every Thing being concluded upon, and all firm in their Resolution, the first of *December* was fixed for the important Day: *Vasconcelles's* Death, who was Secretary of State to the Vice-Queen, was unanimously resolved on. Some would have the Archbishop of *Braga* to suffer the same Fate, he being looked upon as dangerous to their Party, being a Man of great Courage and Resolution, and entirely devoted to the Interest of *Spain*, and the Vice-Queen; but this Proposition was over-ruled by *D'Almeida*, who protested against it in the warmest Terms.

While these Things were transacting at *Lisbon*, and the Duke's Friends were endeavouring to establish him on the Throne, an Express arrived from *Olivarez*, with positive Orders to come immediately to *Madrid*, and a Bill was drawn upon the Royal Treasury for 10,000 Ducats. The Duke, in the Presence of the Courier, gave several Orders to the Deputy Governors, and behaved like one who was going a long Journey. He dispatched a Gentleman to the Vice-Queen, to acquaint her of his Departure, and wrote to *Olivarez*, that, within eight Days at farthest, he would be at *Madrid*; dismissing the Courier, he made him a handsome Present, commending him for his Expedition, in bringing him
his

ENTERTAINMENT. 69

his Letters from the King. The Duke immediately acquainted the Conspirators with the Orders he had received, and shewed them the Danger of deferring the Execution of their Design; but an Accident happened, which almost broke their Measures.

D'Almeida, having been often in the Company of a Nobleman, who on all Occasions had shewn an implacable Hatred to the *Spanish* Government, and never called them any Thing but Tyrants, Usurpers, &c. thought him to be as true-hearted a *Portuguese*, as any in the Kingdom; but how great was his Surprise, after he had discovered to him in private the whole Conspiracy, to find that this cowardly Wretch refused to have any Hand in the Business. *D'Almada*, who expected not in the least such an Answer, was very much troubled, at having entrusted a Secret to a Man, who in all Likelihood would betray it; without making any Reply, he drew his Sword, and his Eyes sparkling with Rage, said, *Thou Villain! Thy deceitful Words have drawn a Secret from me, with which thou must take my Life, or by the Loss of thine atone for thy Treachery.* The Nobleman seeing *D'Almada* thus exasperated, thought it safest to avoid the Danger, by promising him any Thing he demanded; he now found as many Reasons for, as a few Minutes before, he had against the Conspiracy, and swore to bury the Secrets in his Bosom. *D'Almada*, upon his repeated Oath, pardoned his Life, but took Care of not leaving Sight of him, 'till he had acquainted the Conspirators therewith: A general Consternation seized them all, and they came to a Resolution to defer the Execution of their Project; they ordered *Pinto* to inform his Master thereof, which he did; but in another Letter he sent with that, desired the Prince to take no Notice of the first, it containing only the Effects of a sudden Fear, which would be over before the Messenger arrived to deliver it.

He was not deceived, for the ensuing Day they finding every Thing still and quiet, determined to proceed to Execution on the appointed Day. But there

there happened another Adventure, by which they were struck with as much Terror as before.

Some of the Conspirators were always walking in the Palace, like Courtiers out of Place, to observe what was done ; in the Evening of the last Day of *November*, they came in a Fright to their Confederates, telling them, that *Vasconcelles* (who was the first Object of their Revenge) was just gone on board a Yacht, and crossed the *Tagus* ; they apprehended that their Plot was discovered, and he was gone to draw the Soldiers from the Villages on the other Side of the Water, into *Lisbon* ; some were resolved to fly into *Africa* ; others to *England* ; most of them spent Part of the Night in the greatest Disquiet, between Hopes of Life and Fear of Death : But before Morning their Apprehensions vanished, when some, who had been upon the Watch, brought them the welcome News, that *Vasconcelles* had been only diverting himself upon the Water, and that he was returned, with Musick playing before him. Joy succeeded their Grief ; and about an Hour after, every Thing being quiet in the Palace, and all in a profound Sleep, they prepared themselves for the Morning's Work.

But in the interim of that short Time, another Accident happened, which had almost betrayed them. *Don Mello*, Brother to the Lord *Ranger*, lodged at a Relation's House in the Suburbs of *Lisbon*. This Gentleman, now the Time was come for their enterprize, thought it not improper to communicate the Secret to one whom he had Reason to believe was his Friend ; and as he came home from the Assembly, he went into his Chamber, revealed the Plot, and desired him to join in the Enterprize ; the other, surprized at it, seemed nevertheless overjoyed at the approaching Liberty of his Country, thanked *Mello* for the Confidence he reposed in him, and accounted himself happy in having an Opportunity of exposing his Life in so just and glorious a Cause. Whereupon *Mello* retired to his Chamber ; but no-sooner had he got there, but he began to reflect on what he had done. He could not lay down to rest, but walked up

ENTERTAINMENT. 71

up and down his Chamber: He thought he heard some whispering Noise, and opening the Window softly, to see if any body was in the Street, he perceived a Servant holding his Relation's Horse, and himself ready to mount. *Mello*, in a Rage, snatched his Sword, hastens down Stairs, seizes the Kinsman, and asked, whither he was going at that unseasonable Hour? The other was hammering out a Lie, but *Mello* held the Point of his Sword to his Breast, and threatened to kill him, if he did not immediately go in again. He took the Keys of the House, locked the Doors, and retired with his Kinsman, nor did he suffer him out of his Sight, till it was Time to go to the Rendezvous.

Now the Morning dawned that was to bring on that important Day, which was to decide whether the Duke of *Braganza* should be proclaimed a King, or be declared a Rebel to his Country.

It was Early in the Morning when the Conspirators met at the appointed Places, where they were to be furnished with Arms. They all appeared with so much Courage and Resolution, that they seemed to march to a certain Victory; and what is most to be admired, there was not one that falsified his Word, or broke his Promise; several Ladies too shewed themselves heroick on that Day. *Phillippa de Villennes* with her own Hands armed both her Sons: 'Go, my Children, *said she*, put an End to the Tyrant's Power, revenge yourselves on your Enemies, free your Country, and be assured, that if Success does not crown your Undertaking, your Mother will never see the cruel Fate of so many brave and deserving Patriots.'

Every one being armed, they made the best Way towards the Palace, most of them in Litters, in order to conceal their Number and Arms. They divided into four Companies, and waited with Impatience, till the Palace Clock Struck Eight; that, and the firing of a Pistol, being the appointed Signal. At last, the long wished for Hour struck, and *Pinto* firing a Pistol, they all rushed forward to execute their Design.

Don

72 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

Don *Almeida*, with those that accompanied him, fell upon the *German* Guard, who not thinking of an Attack, were sitting carelessly ; but few having Arms in their Hands, they were cut to Pieces, without making scarce any Resistance,

Lord *Ranger*, with his Brother *Mello*, and their Band, fell upon the *Spaniards*, who kept the Guard at the Fort before the Palace. They were followed by the Citizens who were in the Conspiracy, and fought, Sword in Hand, most resolutely. One of the City Priests, with a Crucifix in one Hand, and a Sword in the other, headed his Party, and both by his Words and valiant Conduct, encouraged the People to cut their Enemies to Pieces. The Officer of the Guard, willing to save his Life, cried out, *Long live the Duke of Braganza, King of Portugal*.

Pinto having forced his Way into the Palace, entered with his Party into *Vasconcelles's* Apartment, and meeting with an Acquaintance who was surprized, and in a Fright asking him, Whither he was going with so many armed Men, and what they designed to do? Nothing, said he, smiling, but change our Master, rid you of a Tyrant, and give *Portugal* its rightful King.

Entering the Secretary's Apartment, they met a Judge, who hearing a Cry of, *Long live the Duke of Braganza, &c.* thought he was obliged in Duty to cry, *Long live the King of Spain and Portugal*, but he lost his Life for it.

Antonio Corea, first Clerk of the Secretary's Office, running out to know the Occasion of this Tumult, had a Sword plunged into his Bosom, he being a Man employed in oppressing the People, and had treated the *Portuguese* Gentlemen with Scorn and Contempt. He called to Don *Menezes*, who gave him the Blow, *Villain, darest thou strike me?* Whereupon the Blows were redoubled, and he fell down, but his Wounds not proving mortal, he was afterwards hanged by the common Executioner.

As

ENTERTAINMENT. 73

As soon as *Corea* fell, the Conspirators rushed towards *Vasconcelles's* Apartment. A Captain of Foot, who was with him, thought in Point of Honour to oppose the Secretary's Enemies, and, Sword in Hand, barriered that Passage; but one of the Conspirators running him through the Arm, and the rest pressing forward, he was glad to make his Escape, by leaping out of a Window.

Then *Pinto*, with all his Company, entered the Chamber, and looked for *Vasconcelles*; they overturned the Bed and Tables, broke open the Trunks, and every one was for giving him the first Blow; but he was not to be found, 'till his Servant Maid, being threatened with immediate Death, unless she would tell where her Master was, and, seeing the naked Sword, pointed to a Press that was within the Wall, where they found him under a Heap of Paper.

The Fear of Death was so great upon him, as to prevent his Speech. Don *Rodrigo de Saa*, Lord-Chamberlain, was the Man who killed him, by shooting him through the Head with a Pistol, after which, he was stabbed by several of the Conspirators, and thrown out of the Window, crying, *Liberty! Liberty! the Tyrant is dead; long live Don John, King of Portugal.*

The Noise made by this had brought a vast Number of People to the Palace-Court, who, seeing *Vasconcelles's* Body thrown out, shouted for Joy, and rushed upon the Carcass, every one endeavouring to give him a Stab, as though thereby they would destroy Tyranny itself. *Vasconcelles* was a *Portuguese* by Birth, but by Inclination a *Spaniard*, and an Enemy to his Country. He applied himself close in inventing Ways and Means of extorting Money from the People; he was so hardened, that he knew nothing of the Stings of Conscience. He left vast Sums of Money behind him, Part of which the People plundered, by Way of Reparation for what he had extorted from them.

Pinto, without Loss of Time, marched directly to join the others, appointed to make themselves Masters.

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74 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

of the Palace, and to seize the Vice-Queen; but he found the Business done, and Success had every where crowned their Undertaking. Those, appointed for that Enterprize, made up to her Chamber, threatening to set the Apartment on Fire, in case the Door was not opened immediately; the Vice-Queen, thinking that her Presence would strike an Awe and Respect, admitted them to come in; she was attended by her Maids of Honour, and the Archbishop of *Braga*, and addressed herself to the Chief of the Conspirators, in Substance as follows: 'She owned that her Secretary had justly deserved their Hatred and Indignation, since his Pride and Insolence were insufferable; but, since they had sacrificed him to their Resentment, she desired them seriously to consider, that tho' his illegal Conduct might excuse this Insurrection, yet were they to continue any longer in Arms, Rebellion would be laid to their Charge, and she put out of Power to make their Peace with the King.'

Don De Meneses answered, 'That they had not taken up Arms to murder a Wretch, who ought to have died by the Hands of the common Hangman; their Design was to restore the Crown to the Duke of *Braganza*, to whom by Right it belonged, and which the King of *Spain* had unjustly usurped.' She was going to reply, but *D'Almada* interrupted her, saying, 'Portugal acknowledges no other King but the Duke of *Braganza*.' Whereupon the People shouted, *Long live Don John, King of Portugal*.

The Vice-Queen was then hastening down Stairs, intending to shew her Person among the People in the City, but *Don Norogna* stopped her, desiring her to retire to her Apartment, where she should be treated with that Respect, as tho' she still had the Command in the Kingdom, and likewise forewarned her, not to expose herself to the Insults of a furious People, who were inflamed with Thirst of Revenge for their Liberties. Enraged at this, she said, 'What can the People do to me?' 'Nothing, replied *Norogna*, but sling your Highness out of the Window.'

The

ENTERTAINMENT. 75

The Archbishop of *Braga* hearing this, grew furious, snatched a Sword from one of the Soldiers, who stood next him, and flew towards *Nordgna*: This rash Prelate had certainly met with Death, had not Don *D'Almeida* interposed, who embracing him, begged him to consider what Danger he exposed himself to, telling him, he was already so hated, that he had found it a hard Task to have his Life spared; and that this Action was not in the least becoming his Character. The Archbishop, convinced of the Truth of what his Friend said, dissembled his Anger; however, he declared himself entirely in the Interest of the King of *Spain*. The rest of the *Spanish* Grandees at the Palace were taken Prisoners.

Having done their Business at the Palace, they went into the Hall, where the Court of Justice was then sitting; Don *Antonio de Salsaigne*, in an elegant Speech, represented to them the Happiness of *Portugal*, in having restored their own lawful King, that Tyranny was no more, &c. This Speech was applauded by the whole Court, and they changed the Title of their Decrees, from the Name of the King of *Spain*, to that of *Don John, King of Portugal*.

The *Spaniards* were yet Masters of the Citadel, from whence they could safely burn and destroy the Town; *Pinto* therefore went with some of the chief Conspirators to the Vice-Queen, and desired her to sign a Warrant to the Governor, to have the Castle delivered up to them. She called them Rebels, and with Indignation asked them, Whether they would force her to be an Accomplice? *D'Almada*, provoked at the Queen's Denial, swore, that if she did not immediately sign the Warrant, all the *Spaniards* that were taken in the Palace should be put to Death.

This Menace obliged the poor Princess, tho' unwilling, to comply; thinking the Governor knew his Duty too well to obey an Order, which he might be assured was signed by Compulsion; but she was mistaken; for he was glad to see the Warrant, which he readily obeyed, and gave up the Fort.

76 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

Having dispatched their Business so successfully, they sent *Mendoza* to acquaint the Duke, that now nothing was wanting but his Presence, to compleat the Happiness of his Subjects. The Archbishop of *Lisbon* was nominated Prime-Minister, and Don *D'Almeida*, *Mendoza*, and *D'Almada*, his Assistants.

In the Evening, Couriers were sent all over the Kingdom, to exhort People to give Thanks for the Recovery of their Liberties.

The King then set out immediately for *Lisbon*, with the same Equipage he had prepared for his Journey to *Madrid*. The Roads were lined with People, who came flocking from all Parts, to see their new King; the Air was filled with their Acclamations, and their Blessings were showered upon him all the Way he went. In the Evening, Fire-works were played off thro' the whole City, and every Citizen had a Bonfire before his Door; the rest of the Cities and Towns, followed the Example of the Revolution that had happened in the Duke of *Braganza's* Favour.

The 15th of *December*, the Coronation was performed with all the Magnificence imaginable, all the Grandees of the Kingdom being present, who, together with the Bishops, acknowledged him their lawful King, and took the Oath of Allegiance accordingly.

C H A P. V.

The Insurrection and Revolution at Constantinople, in the Year 1730.

K OULI-KAN, a *Turkish* Subject born, but engaged in the *Persian* Service, after he had overthrown the Usurper *Efress*, and recovered the greatest Part of the *Turkish* Conquests, animated with Success, would not slacken the Fire of his Valour; for he found himself to have a considerable Advantage over the *Turks*, who, thinking themselves secure by the late Peace, concluded with *Efress*, had neglected to supply the Frontiers with sufficient Troops and Provisions; and the better to surprize them,

ENTERTAINMENT. 77

them, the *Sophi* sent an Ambassador to *Constantinople*, under Colour of concluding a new Treaty, tho' he had no other Commission, than to demand the Restitution of all the *Turkish* Conquests, and all the *Persians* they had made Slaves.

It was in the Month of *June*, 1730, when that Ambassador arriv'd at *Constantinople*, who was received with all the Tokens of Honour, and had already commenced to treat with the Grand Vizir, when on a sudden, News was brought of the *Persians* having begun Hostilities. This put an End to the Conferences; a Watch was set over the Ambassador, and War declared again. The Sultan and the Grand Vizir resolved to put themselves at the Head of the Army. They left *Constantinople* the third of *August*, with such a Pomp and Train, as was more fit for Shew than a military Expedition, and encamped at *Scutari* under pretext of staying there 'till every Thing should be ready for continuing their March.

Notwithstanding all this, the Court was wavering, whether they should continue their March, or return to *Constantinople*. This Irresolution raised the Murmurs of the Soldiers, which, at last, broke into an open Rebellion: But some time before this, a general Discontent to the Government was observed among all Sorts of People, and it was publickly rumoured about, that a Revolution was at Hand. The Scarcity of Provisions had been felt a great while; the raising the Price upon all Commodities; the Misery of the whole Country for want of Commerce; the heavy Taxes, &c. caused a general Disgust, which was increased and aggravated by some Lawyers and Ecclesiasticks, and some Wretches, that delighted in Confusion, whereby they might have an Opportunity to mend their Condition.

The chief Instruments for this Sedition were miserable ones: The one was *Patrona*, a Fellow who sold old Cloaths about the Streets, and the other *Muslab*, a Fruit-seller, and a third *Emir Hali*, not of much superior Rank with the former.

78 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

Patrona, who formerly had been a Mariner, but had afterwards enlisted himself among the Janissaries, having laid out his whole Substance in Arms, Cloaths, and other Things, in order to sell them in the Campaign against the *Persians*, which now seemed suspended, thought upon forming some Scheme, whereby he might retrieve his Loss: He gave an Entertainment to his Confidants and Friends, and in the Midst of their Mirth told them, That it had been revealed to him, that the Ministry was to be changed, and the Grand-Signor to be deposed, since they had rendered themselves Tyrants, and by the feigned Marches against the *Persians* had ruined the Soldierry, who had been put to needless Expences: As for his Part, he was resolved to put himself at the Head of the Malecontents, display a Colour, and invite the Musselmen to his Assistance. The whole Company applauded his Resolution, and by solemn Oaths engaged themselves to assist one another in so glorious a Cause and fix'd *Thursday, Sep. 28*, for the Day of executing it.

Accordingly they assembled themselves in small Numbers, about nine in the Morning, and agreed to divide themselves into three Bands, and being joined by the Malecontents, to meet at *Et-Midan*, or the Parade. Accordingly *Patrona's* Party set out first, with Sabres in their Hands, and a Colour flying, proclaiming the Shops to be shut, and for every true Musselman to repair to the Place of *Et-Midan*, where the just Complaints against the present Ministry would be laid before them. The two other Parties having done the same in their March, the Confusion soon spread over the whole City: The Shops were immediately shut, and the *Christians*, as well as the *Jews*, thought proper to hide themselves, as did many of the *Turks*.

During these Troubles at *Constantinople*, the Sultan and the Grand-Vizir were at *Scutari*, and no Persons of Authority were at hand to quell these Disorders, except the Aga of the Janissaries, and the Kiaia of the Grand Vizir. The latter, who feared the Multitude most, as soon as he was informed of
the

ENTERTAINMENT. 79

the Insurrection, lost his Courage and fled to *Ypus*: The Aga of the Janissaries, hearing of the Disorder, immediately drew up his ordinary Guard, and marched against the Rebels, with a Design either to disperse them, or to prevail on them by good Words; but seeing that his Presence did only aggravate them; and his Guard, far from being disposed to assist him, murmured themselves for not joining with the Rebels; and being likewise informed, that another seditious Party was advancing to pillage his Palace, he escaped from the Crowd, disguised himself, and passed to *Scutari*, where he shut himself up in one of his Houses, without making any Report to the Grand-Vizir of what had happened.

The mean Time, the Rebels increased and forced all the *Turks* they met with in their Way to join them. They afterwards went to the Quarters of the *Spahis*, where they found Muskets, Sabres, Darts, and other military Implements, which they seized. Then they broke the Prison-Doors, and strengthened themselves by the Number of all that had been confined, so that by the next Night the Rebels were increased to above 2000.

As soon as Information was given of these mischievous Proceedings, the Grand-Vizir called a Divan, and the only Conclusion was, to call a fresh Council of State, in the Sultan's Presence; the Result of which was, That the Sultan and his whole Court should return to *Constantinople*, and be ready at Hand to remedy Things with less Difficulty. This being agreed upon, they embarked directly; but before the Sultan went on board, his Sister, the Princess *Hattiga*, for whom he always had a peculiar Regard, gave him this Council, and insisted upon it, that he should have all his Ministers about him, that, in Case the Rebels should demand any one of them, he, by delivering him up, might preserve himself and his Family from Destruction.

According to this Advice, the Sultan and all his Ministers set out from *Scutari* at Midnight, and being landed at the Seraglio, he directly went to the Imperial

rial Chamber, there he seated himself in a Corner of the Sopha, where he could over-hear every Thing that was spoke in the Room adjoining, where the Grand-Vizir had invited the principal Ministers to consult with them what Course to take. But they were still divided, and in great Confusion, the fatal Hour for changing the Government was come, and all their Resolutions served only to hasten it. Indeed, they all agreed, that the Number of the Rebels being still inconsiderable, there might be Hopes to defeat them before they became more numerous; whereupon, by Break of Day, they dispatched an Aga to *Et-Midan*, to bid the Rebels to retire on Pain of Death: But their Answer was, That they were assembled for the Good and Honour of the State; that they had just Remonstrances to lay before their Sovereign; and that they would not lay down their Arms, 'till they had Justice done them. The Sultan, offended at this obstinate Answer, went in a violent Passion up to the Grand-Vizir, and accused him of being the Cause of all the Disorder: The Grand-Vizir again laid all the Blame upon the *Camaican*, and loaded him with most bitter Reproaches. The Sultan then ordered the *Camaican* to be taken into Custody, and gave his Opinion about the Measures he thought proper to be taken: He ordered the Standard of the Prophet to be displayed at the Gate of the Seraglio, and Proclamation to be made, that every Soldier and good Musselman, that would join to fight the Rebels, should have fifteen Crowns, and his Pay augmented. But these Promises had no Effect; for the Soldiers seemed but very little animated thereby, so that at last they were obliged to have Recourse to the first Project, tho' too late: However, the *Bastangis* were pitched upon for this Purpose, in Preference to other Troops; because they are the proper Guard of the Seraglio: But when they were called together, most of them had hid themselves; others were fled, and only Children, decrepid ones, and such left as were unfit to make Head against the Rebels: They then cast their Eyes upon the Mariners;

ENTERTAINMENT. 81

ners; and the Sultan having honoured *Abdi Capouton* with the Charge of Captain *Pacha*, this new Admiral, gave Orders for the Gallies to lie close to the Seraglio, and caused, at the same Time, the Drum to beat in the Sultan's Name. This proved successful in the Beginning, and about 400 Men were already landed in the Seraglio, when *Patrona* on a sudden rushed in, seized the Admiral, and gave the Sailors and Mariners to understand, that if they sided with the Court, they should have no Quarters given them, and that their Houses should be burnt, as well as the Sultan's Gallies. These Threatnings made those that were not yet enrolled return Home, and those already enrolled, after having received their fifteen Crowns, found Means to desert. *Patrona*, calling to Mind a Favour he had formerly received from the Admiral, to shew his Gratitude, gave him both his Life and Liberty.

Achmet, finding himself thus disappointed, was, at last, obliged to come to a Negociation: Accordingly, on Friday Evening, he sent *Affeki Aga*, to ask the Rebels, what they required of him, and what they intended? Their Answer was, They prayed the Sultan to send them alive the Mufti, the Grand-Vizir *Ibrahim*, *Mustapha Pacha*, *Caimacan*, and the *Kiaia Mabomet*, both Sons-in-law to the Grand-Vizir: As for the rest, they were contented with his Highness, and wished him good Success. Upon this Answer, the Sultan ordered the *Kiaia* to be arrested, likewise the *Caimacan*, but as for the Mufti, and the Grand-Vizir, he did not think proper to do the same, and therefore ordered the *Aga* to return to the Camp of the Rebels, and to tell them, That his Highness was willing to depose and banish the two first Ministers, and that his Highness prays them to content themselves with this Punishment, without insisting upon taking their Lives away, in Consideration of having complied with their Request, and arrested the two last, for them to do with what they should think fit. The Answer which the Rebels returned was, That they were contented with the Deposition and Exile
of

82 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

of the Mufti ; but that they insisted upon having the Grand-Vizir delivered to them. And now *Achmet*, in Spite of the Affection he bore to his Minister and Son-in-law, finding he could not save him without endangering his own Life, sent the *Kislar Aga* to demand the Imperial Seal from him, and to conduct him into an Apartment, called, *The Foreigner's Chamber*, where he was guarded, but without the least ill Treatment.

While Things went on in this Manner in the Seraglio, the Rebels were not idle in the City : They detached Parties to pillage the Houses of several Persons of Note, who, either directly or indirectly, had shared in the Ministry, and among others, that of the Vaivode of *Galata*, where they found a great Deal of Treasure, which they flung into the Street, saying, that the Musselmens should reap no Advantage from what this unworthy Minister had got from the Infidels by Rapine and Extortion ; and as his Wealth arose from them, it was proper it should return to them again. 'Tis true, this *Vaivode* oppressed and tyrannized over the *Christians* and *Jews* on all Occasions ; and after this Pillage, the *Greeks*, the *Armenians*, and the *Jews* of that Quarter, as well as those that passed by, seized on every Thing that had been thrown out, without being hindered by the *Turks* : During this, others went, forewarning the *Christians* and *Jews*, to keep quietly within Doors, and no Harm should come to them. They likewise ordered the Shops, where Provisions were sold, to be kept open, and well stocked ; this was faithfully executed, and neither the City, nor the great Suburbs, wanted any Thing during the whole Insurrection.

In the mean Time, the *Janissaries*, as well as the *Topies* and the *Gebegies*, affected a Sort of Neutrality, which however was inexcusable in regard to their Sovereign. But Things did not continue long in this Situation ; for the Rebels having made themselves Masters of the Powder-Magazine, divided themselves into two Bands, one whereof invited the *Janissaries* to join them, and the other solicited the *Topies* and the

ENTERTAINMENT. 83

the *Gebegies* for the same Purpose. These different Companies of Troops, who for some Time had refused to hearken to the Instances of the Rebels, did now consent.

The Conjunction of the Soldiery and the Rebels was the finishing Stroke to throw the Court into Despair, which also began to feel the Want of necessary Supplies, the Rebels having cut off the Water, and intercepted the Provisions that were to serve the Seraglio. Nevertheless, the Grand-Signor was willing to try once more, to save the Life of his Vizir, but the Rebels insolently answered, That they had done too much already in pardoning the Mufti, and that this had proceeded from a Consideration to his Highness, and because that Minister was at the Head of the Law; but that they absolutely insisted upon sending to them the Vizir, and his two Sons-in-Law, to give Account of their Male-Administration. *Achmet*, overcome by the Obstinacy of these Mutineers, and finding it impossible to save his Vizir from their Fury, condemned him, the *Camaican*, and the *Kiaia*, to be strangled, and their Bodies to be sent to *Et-Midan*: The *Kiaia* no sooner was informed of his Condemnation, but he expired; which however did not hinder the putting a Cord about his Neck, to observe the Sentence and Form of his Execution: But the Vizir and the *Camaican* suffered Death with Magnanimity.

The next Morning the three executed Bodies were sent to *Et-Midan*, each in a different Chariot: The Multitude that followed them, after having exercised all Sorts of Infamy upon them, cried along the Streets, Thus may all the Enemies of the Empire and Religion perish! But as soon as the Rebels perceived them, they fell into a most violent Passion, and complained bitterly at the Grand-Signor's not having sent them these Ministers alive, according to their Demand: They pretended that it was not the Body of the Grand Vizir, but that of some Galley-Slave that very much resembled him.

Be that as it will, the Rebels thought they had sufficient Reason to believe, that the Sultan had put a
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84 *The* WINTER'S EVENING

Cheat upon them; and after having satisfied their Rage on the Bodies of the *Camaican* and of the *Kiaia*, and hung them upon two Trees, for the Satisfaction of the People, they tied the unfortunate Vizir to an Horse's Tail, and dragged him to the Gate of the Seraglio. There they demanded, with great Out-cries, to deliver up the true Vizir alive, saying; that since *Achmet* had not observed his Promises, he was not worthy of reigning any longer, but ought to be dethroned, to establish Sultan *Mahmoud* in his Room, whom they had already proclaimed Emperor. The Sultan did all he could to pacify them; he offered many considerable Presents, and all the Victims they demanded, but in vain; they were inflexible; and in their Return to *Et-Midan*, they cast the Body of the unfortunate *Ibrahim* before a fine Fountain, which this Minister had caused to be built for the Embellishment of the City, and Conveniency of the Inhabitants, and there left it exposed to the Dogs.

The Rebels, although determined to depose Sultan *Achmet*, were nevertheless at a Loss for a Person of Parts and Authority to execute so important a Commission; this they found in one named *Ispirizade*, Preacher in Ordinary to the Court and the Mosque of St. *Sophia*. This Hypocrite had often received great Favours from the Sultan: But, guilty of the blackest Ingratitude, he went to the Rebels, and encouraged them in their wicked Design; offering to undertake the Management of that Affair himself. He therefore went to the Seraglio on the first of *October*, when the Sultan was in the Imperial Chamber, and all the Ministers of State in the Pavillion. As soon as *Ispirizade* appeared, every one hastened to enquire of him what passed in the City. Then with a doleful Mein, like one oppressed with Grief, he said, That the Rebels would absolutely have *Achmet* quit the Throne, and that after having employed all his Efforts to make them change their Resolution, seeing no Hopes of gaining them, he had thought proper to impart this News to them.

ENTERTAINMENT. 85

them. At these Words the assembly was Thunder-struck, and made him no Answer; and the perfidious Wretch seeing that none had Courage enough to deliver such News to the Sultan, resolved to do it himself. Well, says *Achmet*, on seeing him, what News? Do the Rebels still continue at *Et-Midan*? Why don't they retire? I have done more for them than I ought. What do they ask, or what can they desire more? My Lord, replied this Traitor, with an Air both steady and modest, Thy Reign is finished, and thy Subjects will no longer acknowledge thee for their Emperor. *Achmet* getting up in a Rage, running streight to the Apartment of Sultan *Mahmoud*, his Nephew, he took him by the Hand, and conducted him to the Imperial Chamber, where he himself placed him upon the Throne, and saluted him Emperor.

Among other Things, which he spoke to him with a great deal of Tenderness, he said, 'Remember that your Father had not lost the Throne which I now resign to you, but for having a too-blind Complaisance for the Musti, and that I had not lost it myself, but for my confiding too much in my Vizir. Make good Use of these Examples. Don't attach yourself too close to your Ministers, nor rely upon them without a great deal of Circumspection. Had I always followed my ancient Politicks, of not letting my Ministers rest too long in a Place, or of calling them oftner to an Account about the Affairs of the Empire, I had perhaps finished my Reign as glorious as I began it. Farewell! I wish that your's may be more happy; and let my Sons and myself be recommended to you.' After these Words, the unfortunate *Achmet* shut himself up in the same Prison from whence he had delivered his Nephew. This Abdication happened in the Night of *October 1*.

All the Ministers and Persons of Quality that were in the Seraglio, were admitted the same Night to kiss the Vest of the new Sultan: As soon as it began to be Day, there was a Throne erected before the Gate of the Seraglio, where all the Grandees of the

H

Empire

86 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

Empire came in a Body to render Homage to *Mahmoud*, and to kiss his Vest.

The new Sultan, being curious to know the Chief of the Rebels to whom he was beholden for the Empire, *Patrona* presented himself in his ordinary Accoutrements of a Janizary, and bare-legged. He advanced boldly towards the Throne, and having kissed the Hand of the new Sultan, What is it I can do for thee? says the Prince. Thou hast a Right to demand what Favours thou pleasest. This mean Creature, conscious of his Crimes, answered the Sultan, that now he had obtained what he had desired, *viz.* to see his Highness upon the *Ottoman* Throne, and that henceforth he had nothing to expect from his Highness, but a precipitate and shameful Death. I swear by the Ashes of my Ancestors, says the Sultan, that I never will hurt thee; tell me only what Recompence I can make thee, and I will grant it. Since that your Imperial Bounty is without Limits, said *Patrona*, I beseech your Highness to take off all new Taxes with which your faithful Subjects were burdened by the late Ministry. *Mahmoud* immediately granted his Request, and the Abolishment of new Taxes was published every where.

It is the Custom of the *Ottoman* Court, whenever a Sultan dies, by the Course of Nature his Successor is not obliged to give any Gratification to the Troops; but in case of a Revolution, the Prince, who ascends the Throne, must make a Present to them, and augment their Pay: The Present is 3000 Aspers to each Janizary, and their Pay is augmented two Aspers *per* Day.

The new Sultan, to discharge himself of these Obligations sent for the Tasterdar, or Treasurer, and other Officers of the Exchequer, whom he ordered to get Money ready for the Payment of the Troops. These Persons proposed to discharge those Debts without exhausting the Treasury, from the Spoils of the Grand-Vizir, his *Kiaia*, and the *Caimacan*. And herein they were not mistaken, for they found at the Palace of the late Grand-Vizir, four Iron Chests,
three

ENTERTAINMENT. 87

three of which contained each 18 Purfes of 60,000 Sequins each, or 1,350,000 *l.* Sterl. The fourth Cheft, being not fo large as the three former, was filled with precious Stones, of an inestimable Value. They found likewise rich Stuffs, *Persian* and *Indian* Tapestry, Jewels, and other Curiofities of different Countries, the moft exquisite of their Kinds.

The *Kiaia's* Treasure in Silver amounted to upwards of 3000 Purfes, or 1,875,000 *l.* Sterl. without the Jewels and other valuable Effects, which amounted to near as much. The *Caimacan* was counted as rich as the others in Money; besides his magnificent Palace fit for the Sultan himfelf, he had a larger Quantity of Jewels than either the Grand-Vizir or the *Kiaia*. In fhort, the Wealth of thefe three Men was fo prodigious, that *Craſus's* Riches could hardly exceed it.

In the mean Time, *Patrona* ftill exerciſing his Authority among the Rebels with a high Hand, the Sultan ſaw it was impoſſible to eſtabliſh Tranquillity in *Conſtantinople*, as long as he was in Arms; but he wanted both Courage and Power; fearing a ſecond Rebellion, which might prove as fatal to him, as it had to his Uncle; wherefore he tried to remove *Patrona*, by offering him one of the moſt conſiderable Poſts of the Empire; but the crafty Chief, ſuſpecting that theſe Offers were nothing elſe but Snares to ſurprize him, answered, that he did not mind Dignity, and that he was not covetous but of the Blood of the Proſcripts, of whom he had a long Liſt. The *Aga* of the Janizaries, who was preſent, adviſed the Sultan to give to *Patrona* 100,000 Sequins, and to leave him at his Liberty to retire where he pleaſed; but the haughty Rebel answered, he did not want Money; for all the Houſes in *Conſtantinople* were at his Diſpoſal. Then looking with a ſtern Countenance upon the *Aga*, he commanded him never to meddle with any Thing that concerned his Perſon.

October 6th, *Patrona* nominated ſeveral new Officers, and as they preſented themſelves before him,

88 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

he bid them put on Sable Robes, which had been taken in the Pillage of the Proscript Houses.

On the 7th, in the Morning, the Sultan *Mahmoud* went to the Mosque *Yon*, about seven Miles from *Constantinople*, to have the Imperial Sabre girded about him; (a Ceremony which serves the Sultans instead of a Coronation.) His Attendants were very numerous, and *Patrona*, mounted on a very fine Horse, with another Chief of the Rebels at his Left, marched immediately before him bare-legged, and in the ordinary Dress of the Janizaries, throwing Sequins among the Populace. The Sultan also distinguished himself by his Liberality, having given Orders to throw Money to the Amount of 50 Purfes, or 3125 *l.* Sterl.

Shortly after this, *Patrona* himself came to visit the new Grand-Vizir. This Minister, who was the old Sultan's Son-in-law, would not have rose for the greatest Ambassador; as soon as he heard of the Rebel's Arrival, he went to receive him at the Foot of the great Stairs; and having conducted him to his Apartment, they were two Hours together; after which the Grand-Vizir attended him back to the same Place where he had received him.

The 9th, 150 Waggon, each loaden with 50 Purfes, amounting in all to 468,730 *l.* Sterl. were sent under a strong Escort to the *Aga* of the Janizaries, who was three Days about sharing it between 100,000 Men.

In the mean Time, Pillaging, Searching and Pursuing continued at *Constantinople*, and thereabouts, which exasperated the Sultan to such a Degree, that he called a grand Council, in which it was resolved to send a thundering and severe Order to the Rebels to disperse, and that in case they should not obey that high Command, that then they should be regarded as Traitors to their Sovereign, be divorced from their Wives, and pursued till they were entirely defeated.

This Order had so good an Effect, that the most Mutinous submitted upon two Conditions, which the Court was forced to grant them for the Sake of Peace;

ENTERTAINMENT. 89

Peace; the first was, That none should suffer on Account of the Sedition; and the second, That they always might keep three Standards displayed, to be in Readiness to defend themselves, if any Thing should be undertaken to their Prejudice.

This Treaty being concluded on the 12th, the Musti was Guarantee on the Sultan's Side, and *Abdallab*, Effendi for the Rebels, who promised to commit no further Disorders. Upon this, they furled their Ensigns, except the three granted by Treaty, and they withdrew to their respective Quarters and Habitations.

On the 13th, the Sultan ordered the Shops to be opened again, which occasioned a great Concourse of People, as well there, as in the Market-Places.

The 15th and 16th of the same Month, the Rebels still committed some Disorders in different Places; the News being carried to the Musti, he grieved to see the Rebellion thus fomented, and sent for *Patrona Mustub*, and the other Chiefs of the Rebels, exhorting them to retire peaceably to their proper Calls, but in case they would not hearken to this good Advice, they would not only lose the Merits of the Good they had procured, but would also become the Objects of Horror and Indignation to the Sultan and the People, who both in Conjunction would treat them with the same Rigour, as they themselves had treated the Ministers of the late Government.

Patrona, and the other Chiefs, dissembling to yield to these reasonable Admonitions, assured the Musti of their Respect, and expressed a great deal of Sorrow for the Mischief that had happened against their Inclination.

As it is not allowed under any Pretext whatsoever to drink Wine, or commit any Disorders in the Chambers of the Janizaries, the Rebels would not be under that Confinement; they therefore took Houses in the City. *Patrona* made Choice of the Grand Treasurer's, as being next to the Quarters of the Janizaries; and more than 430 Rebels lodged themselves thereabouts. Here they spent their Time both

90 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

Days and Nights in Debauchery, and in their drunken
Airs went to the Grand-Vizir, demanding Places and
Favours for such as their Chiefs had honoured with
their Protection, without being denied it. In short,
their Insolence grew to such a Height, that can hardly
be expressed.

On the 17th, the Troops of the Seraglio received
two Quarters Pay; at the same Time *Patrona* came
thither, passed through the Ranks of the Janizaries,
and advanced even to the Sultan's Apartment. The
Sultaneſs *Valida*, Mother to the Sultan, received him
very courteouſly, calling him her ſecond Son; and
after ſhe had entertained him for a conſiderable Time,
by Means of her Eunuchs, ſhe preſented him with
20,000 Sequins, the beſt Part of which he diſtributed
among the Domeſticks of that Princeſs.

On the 24th, a grand Council was held, to deli-
berate about Means to diſperſe the Rebels effectually;
and it was reſolved to propoſe to them to retire to
what Frontier of the Empire they pleaſed; but in-
ſtead of agreeing to this, they demanded the depoſing
of the new Grand-Vizir: However, *Muſſub*, who
then was not among them, made them change their
Reſolution at his Arrival. But, they made
heavy Complaints about the Vizir's ſtill promoting
ſuch Perſons to Places of Truſt, as were unworthy
thereof, and accuſed the Court of reviving the for-
mer Miniſtry.

Patrona, who had put in Places, and recompenſed
all thoſe to whom he had any Obligation, called to
Mind a Greek Butcher, named *Gianaka*, who had fur-
niſhed him and his Companions with exceeding
good Meat, whiſt at *Et-Midan*; and that at another
Time he had lent him two Piaſters, which he had the
Civility never to aſk for again: He ſent for him, and
told him, That now he would teſtify his Acknow-
ledgement for the Aſſiſtance he had received of him,
in a ſingular Manner; and having preſented him with
1000 Sequins, ſaid; Aſk for what you will and you
ſhall have it granted. At this, the Butcher was at
firſt ſtruck with Confuſion and Perplexity in his Mind,
not.

ENTERTAINMENT. 91

not knowing on what to fix ; he was at first going to desire the Post of an Inspector over the Cattle, as suiting with his Profession, but Ambition and Vanity turned his Head in a Moment, and he addressed himself to *Patrona* to this Purpose : That, since he had all the Power in the Empire, he prayed to be nominated Prince of *Moldavia*. Be it so, replied *Patrona*, and sent him directly to the Grand Vizir, for his Approbation. This Minister, surprized at such a Proposition, said, That what *Patrona* demanded, was impossible to be granted ; That none were raised to that Dignity, but such as were of noble Extraction, and had been of singular Service to the State ; and that it was but four Days since, when the Sultan had confirmed *Gregorasko* in that Post ; it therefore would be neither just nor honourable in his Highness, to depose that Prince, and to put a Butcher in his Place. This Answer being carried to *Patrona*: Very well, said he, but I'll take no such Excuses ; they shall do what I demand. Here upon he sent *Gianaki* to the Grand Vizir again, accompanied by *Muslub*, who spoke in high Terms to the Vizir. This good Minister not knowing what Part to take, said, That an Affair of this Importance could not be determined by him, without the Approbation of the Sultan. Then go find him, said *Muslub*, but think of satisfying *Patrona*. The Sultan was no less surprized than the Grand Vizir, but judging that it would not be long before Affairs would take a Change, he bid the Vizir comply with the Demand of the Rebel. Thus *Gianaki*, having received the Castan, was declared Prince of *Moldavia*, and received the customary Honours as well at Court, as in the *Greek Church*. The Brother to the deposed Prince of *Moldavia*, was obliged to assist at the Ceremony ; and was, by his Post, forced to depose his own Brother, and to declare *Gianaki* his Successor. But the Grandeur of this Butcher Prince, was like unto a Meteor that rises on a sudden, glares a short Time, and vanishes without appearing again. He could raise no more than thirty Purfes, whereas his Exigencies required nigh a Million,

92 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

Million, as well to Discharge the Fees of the Court and Ministers, as to satisfy *Patrona*, who alone demanded fifty Purfes from him, besides what other Rebels expected; and did not fall much short from the former Sums: The Capfa Bassa, who had offered him his Aid, only did it with a View the more to confound him, without designing to help him out of these Difficulties; and *Patrona* himself, his zealous Protector, after he had shewn the World how far he could carry his Authority, abandoned him, like the rest; insomuch that this imaginary Prince, instead of being pompously conducted to a Throne, was shamefully dragged to a Prison.

The Rebels now discovered the Government to be jealous of them, and reflecting upon the fragical Ends which the Authors of the former Rebellions had undergone, thought they could not escape the like Fate: They therefore shewed a Desire to be employed against some foreign Power, by this Means to be under Covert, and always capable of maintaining their Power. The Sultan, acquainted with their Intentions, made use of their own Projects to surprize them, and feigned to declare War against the *Muscovites*. To this End, he called a Divan at the Vizir's, on *Thursday* the 23d of *November*, 1730, at which the chief Persons of the State assisted, and several Rebels were present. The War against *Muscovy* was proposed, but their Opinions were divided, and *Patrona* had a very smart Debate with the Cham of the *Tartars*. I know, said *Patrona*, that our Affairs grow worse and worse in *Persia*, because the *Muscovites* are continually aiding the *Persians*. My Advice, therefore, is to declare War against them, and to revenge the shedding so much Blood of the *Musfulmen*, as they have been the Cause thereof. Every one kept silent, and deplored in secret the Danger of the State, and the bad Hands it was like to fall into. But, as he took to his first Plan, of sending Destruction to *Muscovy*, and even proposed the arresting of the Resident; the Cham of the *Tartars* opposed him warmly, and argued the Unreasonableness

ENTERTAINMENT. 93

ness of declaring War against the *Muscovites*, and the Danger wherewith it would be attended.

But this Council being over without concluding upon any Thing, the Decision of this Affair was put off to another Divan, which was to be held in the Presence of the Sultan, and it was fixed for *Saturday* the 25th of *November*.

The next day, the Sultan, with the greatest Part of his Court, was at the Seraglio; the Cham of the *Tartars*, the Grand Vizir, the Musti, *Gianum Coggia*, together with some other Ministers, privately met together, pronounced Sentence of Death against the Rebels, and every one prepared himself for the Execution of the Design which had been formed. The first Difficulty that started, was, what Persons to entrust with this tragical Commission. At last, after having weighed all the different Parties, it was agreed to give this Commission to the Domesticks of the Seraglio, and this the rather, because there were several Instances that they had been made use of upon the like Occasions.

On the 25th, every Thing being ready for Execution, the Sultan sent to invite *Patrona, Muslub*, and the Aga of the Janizaries, to repair to the Seraglio, where the Conferences should be continued, which had been opened the 23d. They came accordingly about eleven o'Clock, followed by 26 Persons, who stayed in the first Court; but the Chiefs were introduced into the Chamber in which the Divan is held, where they Cham of the *Tartars*, the Musti, the Grand Vizir, *Gianum Coggia*, the two Kadilekers, the Stambol Effendi, and a great many belonging to the Law, all seated upon Sophas, according to their Rank; the Rebels also placed themselves according to their Degree: And though a great Number of Officers of Household Troops, and other such People were in the same Chamber, they had not the least Suspicion of the Catastrophe that threatened them.

As soon as they had entered the Grand Signor's Apartments, Orders were given to shut all the Gates of

94 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

of the Seraglio : The Indifference with which they were treated, and what was alledged for the Delay of opening the Council, made the Rebels soon suspect there was some Trick put upon them. In the mean while, after every one had placed himself, the Grand Vizir, addressling himself to *Patrona*, His Highness, said he, makes you Beglerbeg, or Governor of *Rumelia*, and gives you the Command of 30,000 Men, with which you are to go and join *Achmet*, Pacha of *Babylon*, to act in Concert with him against the *Persians*. Then, turning himself towards *Muslub*, and the Aga of the Janizaries, he told the first, that the Grand Signor made him Governor of *Natolia*, and likewise gave him the Command of a Body of Troops ; and the second, That he was made Pacha of three Tails. Addressling himself at last to *Zulalizade* Kadilesker of *Asia*, and to *Abdallah*, Effendi : The Sultan, he said to them, presents you with one Tail each. The Vizir had no sooner left off speaking, but *Mustapha* Aga cryed with a loud Voice, to exterminate the Enemies of the Emperor and Empire. In that Moment, more than 30 Persons, with Sabres in their Hands, flung themselves upon *Patrona*, and the two other Chiefs of the Rebels, and massacred them before they had Time to recover themselves.

As soon as these principal Rebels were slain, they flung their Bodies into the Court, and went in Pursuit of the 26 Persons which had accompanied them. They were admitted four and four ; and as these Wretches entered the second Court, they had their Throats cut. About half an Hour after, some of the rest finding None of their Companies return, began to mistrust, and thought of saving themselves, but the Gates being all shut, they were invested and massacred like the others.

In the mean Time, the Rumour being spread, that the Chiefs of the Rebels had been a great While in the Seraglio, and that the Gates thereof were shut ; this roused some of their Party to hasten with great Precipitation and murmuring to the Place : But all the Gates having been opened just before their Arrival,

val, these Folks, who before had so much braved, as soon as they saw the Carts loaden with the dead Bodies of their Companions, were seized with Fear, and ran away in such a Hurry, that most of them left their Horses behind. All the dead Bodies being afterwards exposed in the Streets, there gathered an infinite Number of People to examine them, but especially that of *Patrona*: However, they did not lye there above two Hours, before they were thrown into the Sea, from a just Fear that so tragical a Spectacle might be of dangerous Consequence, and that the Rebels, who still were in great Numbers, might excite a fresh insurrection, by the Favour thereof to evade a fatal Death, of which they counted themselves as guilty as those Wretches had been, whose Remains they had seen: And really, there were some of the Rebels at *Beseftin*, who would make the Merchants shut their Shops; but they did not succeed; for the Grand Vizir, who had prevented every Thing, had sent an Order to the Inspector of Merchandize, by which it was declared Death to any one that should shut his Shop, or cause it to be shut, upon any Account whatsoever.

The News of all these Executions filled *Constantinople* with Joy. The greatest Part of the *Turks* returned God Thanks, for having delivered the State from such perfidious Traitors. The Sultan then commanded to seize all the Accomplices they could find, in order to let them feel the same Punishment; accordingly in three Days Time there perished, by different Kinds of Death, 7000 Persons. Amongst those unhappy Wretches, was *Gianaki*, the Butcher-Prince of *Moldavia*, who had his Head cut off, as a Punishment for his Impudence. Thus the Sultan and the Officers of State took all the Precaution possible to prevent any further Disturbances; and by their Vigilance, and the inflicting of exemplary Punishments, they brought the City of *Constantinople* to the former Enjoyment of Peace and Quiet, of which it had been for some Time deprived, on Account of that Rebellion.

C H A P. VI.

The Neapolitan Insurrection, in 1647.

IT was in the Year of *Christ* 1647, when the *Spanish* Regency had loaded the Inhabitants of *Naples* with insupportable Burthens of Excise, Imposts and Taxes, at which the Populace shewed themselves highly disgusted. Complaints were heard in every Corner of the Streets against those at the Helm; and at last a poor Fellow, highly vexed at such arbitrary Proceedings, determined to act the Patriot, and to deliver his Fellow-Sufferers from those grievous Impositions which they had for a long Time laboured under; accordingly, he set himself up for their Deliverer.

This Man's Name was *Thomasia Aniello*, but by Way of Contraction he was commonly called *Massaniello*. His Livelihood depended on selling of Fruit, which he carried about the Streets; and being one Day met by an Excise-Man, who demanded of him the Duty on that Commodity, he refused to pay it; whereupon he had his Fruit taken from him. Exasperated at this Proceeding, and at the Loss of his whole Stock in Trade, he hastened Home; but in his Way, passing through a Church, he happened to meet with an intimate Acquaintance, one *Peronne* by Name, who for some capital Crime had taken Sanctuary there: This Man asked *Massaniello* the Reason why he appeared so melancholy and dejected? Whereupon, he acquainted him with what had happened, and likewise of the Resolution he had taken to avenge his own and his Country's Wrongs: *Peronne* readily proposed to join with him in the Project: They then went together through all the Streets of the City, and listened to the Complaints and Murmurs of the People, especially the Fruiterers; and aggravated as much as possible, the unwarrantable Steps which the Government had taken; and at the same Time, assured them, that, if they would repair to the Market at such a Time, they would find Fruit,
and

ENTERTAINMENT. 97

and other Commodities, to be disposed of, without paying any excise; accordingly the Market was crowded, at the Time appointed, with Purchasers; but the Excise-Men, according to Custom, were ready to demand the Duties; whereupon a great Clamour arose, insomuch, that the Comptroller of the Excise thought it adviseable to sooth the outraged Multitude with smooth Words and fair Promises, and to assure them that, if they would discharge the present Demand, their Grievances should be redressed, and they be eased from the Burthen they complained of. This Speech mitigated the Rage of the People in some Measure; and they would have departed from thence in Peace, had not *Massaniello* in the mean Time, made a further Progress in the Work he had begun: He went thro' most of the Streets in the City, attended by a great Number of Boys, crying out: *No Excise! No Excise!* The Mob encreased, and joined with them with the same Tone; adding withal, *Blessed be Madona del Carmine; Long live the Pope; Long live the King of Spain; But Death and Destruction seize on those at the Helm.* Thus going forward, he found himself followed by a Multitude of People, both Natives and Foreigners, who all joined with him in this formal Declaration.

The next Day, being *Sunday*, as also the Festival of *St. Maria Gracia*, on which it is customary for the Children to storm with Fruit and wooden Arms a slight Castle, erected for that Purpose; this Fruit used to be delivered to them from the Excise-Office, where there was a vast Concourse of People, but no Fruit to be had; for both Buyers and Sellers refused to pay the Excise; this occasioned a great many Quarrels, and other riotous Proceedings. The Comptroller of the Excise, who was sent by the Vice-Roy to quell the Tumult, insinuated, that the Foreigners were the principal Ringleaders, and threatened them with Bastinadoes; most of them belonged to the district of *Puzolo*, and amongst them happened to be one, who was a near Relation of *Massaniello*; this Man being enraged at the Officer's Assertion, paid the Excise for

98 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

the Fruit he had brought to Market, and then flung two Baskets full among the Populace, crying with a loud Voice, *God sends Plenty, but the Government sends all Things Scanty.* *Massaniello* hereupon went among the People, crying out, *Fruit without Excise ! Fruit without Excise !* But the Comptroller not ceasing to exclaim against those Proceedings, the Populace pelted him with Fruit, Stones, and Dirt ; insomuch that he found himself obliged to take Sanctuary at the Church of *del Carmine*, from whence in a Barge he withdrew to the Vice-Roy's Palace.

This occasioned a general Alarm, and the People gathered from all Parts of the Town ; some with Pitch-Forks, Staves, and other Weapons : *Massaniello* then mounted on one of the Fruit-Stalls, addressing himself to the multitude, said, That now was the Time they might free themselves from the Tyranny and Oppression under which they so long had groaned ; that he himself was ready to sacrifice his Life, and all that was near and dear to him for their Sake, in so glorious a Cause. Hereupon they all repaired directly to the Excise-Office for Fruit, set Fire to it, and reduced it to Ashes : Then they divided into Parties, and each of them consigned likewise to the Flames, the other Excise-Offices for Fish, Flesh, Flour, &c. No sooner were these demolished, but above 10,000 Men went to the Palace of the Vice-Roy, some of them carrying Loaves on Pikes, crying out, *Long live the Pope, Long live the King of Spain, but down with the Government.* In their Way they opened all the Places of Confinement, and set the Prisoners at Liberty, in order to join them : Being come before the Palace they demanded Audience of the Vice-Roy, who presented himself before one of the Windows, and promised them, that their Grievances should be redressed, and their Taxes made more easy ; but this not satisfying the People, they forced their Way into the Palace, putting to flight the Guards that endeavoured to oppose them ; they pushed forward even to the Vice-Roy's Closet, and he narrowly escaped from being run through
with

ENTERTAINMENT. 99

with a Halbert ; and finding himself in Danger, he got out of the Back-Door into his Coach, but going along, he was stopped by another Party of the Malecontents, two resolute Fellows jumped into his Coach, and with Sword in Hand, demanded of him the Abolishment of all the Imposts which the People were burthened with : The Vice-Roy, to escape immediate Death, promised to comply with their Demands. Whereupon he was pulled out of his Coach ; some kissed his Hand, others fell on their Knees, beseeching him to fulfil his Promise ; but all the while the Vice-Roy was contriving his Escape, and for that Purpose flung a Handful of Money among the Multitude, and whilst they were scrambling for it, took Sanctuary in the Church and Convent of *St. Lavois*.

The People, finding the Vice-Roy had given them the Slip, forced their Way into the Convent, and notwithstanding the Archbishop's earnest Expostulation with them, fought their Way through the Guards, but the Vice-Roy privately withdrew from thence to the Castle of *St. Almo*, where his Consort and Children, together with the Court Ladies, had fled before for Safety.

The enraged Multitude went next to the Palace of *Caraffa*, Prince of *Besignano*, Field Marshal and Colonel General of *Naples*, humbly beseeching him to commiserate their deplorable State, and to protect them in the Enjoyment of those Privileges which were granted them by the Emperor *Charles V*. He complied with their request. In the mean Time, the Mob had set Fire to another Excise-Office : whereupon, Prince *Caraffa* got on Horseback, and repaired to the Market-Place, where above 50,000 Men were assembled, he invited them to go with him to the Church *del Carmine*, and there, with a Crucifix in his Hand, mounted the Pulpit, and in a soft and pathetick Speech, besought the People to be easy, promising, that he would procure of the Vice-Roy any Thing they would desire : This, however, answered not this Prince's Expectation ; for the Populace went and broke open all the Prisons, except

100 *The* WINTER'S EVENING

those belonging to the State. The Prince was obliged to attend them wherever they went, 'till coming to the Church of St. *Lawrence*, they were there received with a Volley of Shot and in the Confusion the Prince withdrew from them. Whereupon the People chose *Massaniello* for their Leader. That same Evening the Vice-Roy ordered, that the Bread which weighed only 23 Ounces, should be augmented to 33, and abolished all the Excise on Fruit. Notwithstanding this Indulgence, the People rung the great Bell *del Carmine* in the Night, and then divided into Parties; some went to set Fire to the Excise-Houses, others made themselves Masters of the Houses in which they knew there was a large Quantity of Arms; one of the Burghers opposing their Entrance, and killing one of the Mob, had his House immediately set on Fire, and there being a large Stock of Gunpowder in it, it was blown up, by which Accident above 90 Persons lost their Lives. The next Morning all were in Arms, and *Massaniello* being informed, that the Vice-Roy had sent for a Regiment of *German* Soldiers from *Buzzuolo*, ordered a Party to meet them. They killed several, and the rest they took Prisoners; in the same Manner they served two *Italian* Regiments.

The Vice-Roy thereupon, in a Letter to *Massaniello*, proposed to come to Terms of Accommodation; but the People refusing to enter into any Articles, and insisting on having the Charters restored to them, which were granted them by King *Ferdinand*; *Massaniello* had a list of 60 Houses delivered to him, in which lived such as had Posts in the several Excise-Offices; all which he ordered to be set on Fire, and they were reduced to Ashes accordingly. Tho' no one was suffered to Pilfer the least Thing, yet all was committed to the Flames. One Man, by putting only a Napkin privately into his Pocket, lost his Life for it.

By this Time the Women were assembled, with Drums beating, and Colours flying: These were followed by the Peatants Wives and Daughters, who
came

ENTERTAINMENT. 101

came flocking in from all Parts of the Country ; but *Massaniello* finding himself strong enough with his Burghers, sent them Home again. The Vice-Roy being closely besieged, sent the People the Charters of *Charles V.* in the Original, by the Bishop of *Filor- amini* : They were read to them in the Church, and informed that every Thing therein mentioned, should be restored to them, and that what had past should be forgiven. The whole Kingdom however not being included, and moreover some Crime being insinuated, they would hearken to no Terms of Accommodation ; for, said they, we have done no Evil, but defended our Country's Liberty, with true Allegiance and Loyalty to the King. This being reported, the *Spanish* and *German* Troops came up to *Naples* to assist the Vice-Roy ; but they were all disarmed, and *Massaniello* ordered them to be distributed among the Malecontents.

The Power of *Massaniello* encreased every Hour, and he was now looked upon as the Head of all the People. He caused a large Stage to be erected in the open Market-Place, on which, in his ordinary Habit, he and his Councillors heard the Complaints which were made against Offenders, and administered Justice there for some Time. The fourth Day the Palace of the Duke of *Calvano*, together with all the rich Furniture and Household Goods, was burnt to the Ground, during which Time, the Populace made the before-mentioned Acclamations of *Long live, &c.* The same Fate had attended the Palace of the Duke of *Mataloni*, if it had not been defended by 100 Banditti, who obliged the Rabble to withdraw.

There was now a fair Prospect of an Accommodation, had it not been for 500 Banditti on Horseback, who entered the City under Pretence of being sent for by *Peronne*, to join with and assist *Massaniello* ; but they were discovered to have been hired by the Duke of *Mataloni*, who had promised the Vice-Roy the Head of *Massaniello*, and bribed *Peronne* to favour his Design : Whereupon an Engagement ensued, the Banditti fired at *Massaniello*, notwithstanding he had

above 10,000 Men about him : However, the Multitude having shot 30 of them, they were obliged to retire in an Instant. *Peronne* was on Account of this Plot, laid in Irons, and as a Traitor to the People of *Naples*, condemned to die ; several others underwent the same Fate. *Peronne* being put to the Torture, confessed to have a promissary Note of 15,000 Crowns from the Duke of *Mataloni*, and that they had undermined *Massaniello's* House with 28 Barrels of Gun-Powder, in order to blow him up. After he had made an ample Discovery, he was, with several others of the Conspirators, beheaded. One, who was privy to the Plot, informed *Massaniello*, that above 150 Barrels of Gun-Powder were lodged under the Market-Place, with Intent to blow it up when most of the People were assembled there. *Massaniello* ordered an Inspection to be made; the Gun-Powder was found, and the People applied it to their own Use. This, however, is not all ; the Wells of the City were poisoned, and *Massaniello* ordered a Proclamation forthwith to be made, to inform the People of the Villainy which was intended for their Destruction. The Bandittis who had escaped in the last Engagement, were once more warmly pursued, and sought after in the Churches and Convents, where they had fled for Safety ; but they were dragged from thence and their Heads being cut off and stuck upon Pikes, were carried together, with that of *Peronne*, through the City. The Duke of *Mataloni*, indeed, made his Escape from the Fury of the Populace ; but his Friends suffered very severely. Prince *Caraffa*, proffered 12,000 Crowns for his Life, but was assaulted, and a Butcher's Son severed his Head from his Body with a Knife, adorning it afterwards with a Crown of Tinsel, he carried it on a Pike through the City ; when he had mangled the Trunk, the Carcass was hung upon a Gallows, as also his Head and one of his Feet, which were put into a Basket. This Execution struck a great Dread and Terror among the Nobility ; and the Number of the Rabble had increased that Night to 150,000.

Massaniello now began to think on the proper Means of securing himself against his Enemies. He therefore

ENTERTAINMENT. 103

fore cut off all Communication to the Vice-Roy's Palace; he also baracaded all the Streets, and burnt Fagots in them to illuminate them all night long. An hundred and sixty Heads being stuck on Pikes in less than six Hours Time, put the Nobility in great Consternation. He ordered that neither Men nor Women should wear Gowns or Cloaks, lest they might possibly conceal Arms under them. He also made several other Regulations, and his Orders were as punctually obeyed, as if he had been a Sovereign and arbitrary Prince. Every one was struck with Astonishment, to see such Authority maintained by a poor young Fruiterer over so many Thousands of Inhabitants.

The Vice-Roy finding himself in the Power of a desperate and incensed Mob, thought proper, in order to prevent greater Mischiefs, to comply with their Demands; for which Purpose he delivered the Charters of the People in Writing to the Cardinal *Fillomarini*, who went with them to the Church of *del Carmine*, and there read them openly in the Presence of *Massaniello* and all his Attendants. This Hero then appeared in a Suit of Silver Brocade, with a white Plume of Feathers in his Hat.

After this Solemnity was over, the Cardinal mounted the Pulpit, and admonished the People to return Thanks to Almighty God, and then with Joy and Gladness of Heart, joined in singing the *The Deum* under the Sound of Trumpets, Kettle-Drums, and other musical Instruments: The Anthem being ended, the Cardinal repaired to the Vice-Roy, desiring *Massaniello* to accompany him thither; he accepted of the Invitation, and riding before the Cardinal's Coach, holding a naked Sword in his Hand, his Brother and the Principal of his Adherents surrounded the Coach, which was followed by more than 20,000 Men all armed. When they came to the Palace Gate, *Massaniello* resolving to take but a few Men with him into the Palace, addressing himself to the People, and conjured them, that in Case they did not see his Face again, they should not rest 'till their Rights and Privileges were all settled and confirmed. The People

ple vowed to observe his Instructions; whereupon the Cardinal gave them his Benediction, and then *Massaniello*, with his Brother and two of his Chief Councillors, went up to the Vice-Roy; coming before him, *Massaniello* kneeled down, and in the Name of the People of *Naples* kissed his Hand. He intimated to the Vice-Roy, that he was come to surrender himself, and submit to such Treatment as he thought proper. The Vice-Roy, raising him up, embraced him, and protested no Hurt was designed him, nor was any Thing alledged to him as a Crime, Whereupon they went together into the Privy Closet, and had some Consultation on the present Posture of Affairs. In the mean Time the Crowd before the Palace increased, they began to be uneasy, and wondered that *Massaniello* should stay with the Vice-Roy longer than they expected: The Vice-Roy being informed of their jealous Surmises, he with the Cardinal and *Massaniello*, shewed themselves at one of the Windows, from whence *Massaniello* cried to the People, *Behold, I live and am free! Peace, Peace!* Whereupon the Bells were rung for joy throughout the City: *Massaniello*, to shew his Authority over the People to the Vice-Roy, cried out, *Long live the King of Spain, &c.* which was answered by the whole Multitude with repeated Acclamations; but no sooner did he lay his Fingers on his Lips, but a profound Silence ensued; the Vice-Roy stood astonished at this Instance of his Authority and their Obedience, as a Circumstance not be parallell'd in History. When *Massaniello* took his Leave, the Vice-Roy put a Gold Chain about his Neck, and embracing him, said, *Go in Peace, my Son, and God bless thee.*

The next Day, being *Friday*, was ushered in by the People's taking a Barge with four Soldiers, who had brought Letters from the Duke of *Mataloni* to one of the Secretaries of State; they were by *Massaniello's* Order put to the Torture, and on their Confession beheaded, as were 100 Banditti that were taken that Night. Hereupon it was with great Solemnity proclaimed throughout the City, that the Vice-Roy

ENTERTAINMENT. 105

Roy had confirmed the Dignity which the People of *Naples* had bestowed on *Massaniello* as Captain General; which made him be looked upon as a Man of great Authority. That Day he caused a Scaffold to be erected in the Street of *Toledo*, for the Execution of Criminals, which was hanseled with the Blood of four Banditti, that were discovered in the Disguise of the Cardinal's Footmen's Livery: This caused such a great Consternation amongst the Footmen in general, that none of them would venture to appear in the Streets, lest they should be taken up for Banditti, and undergo the same Fate.

Massaniello administred publick Justice thro' one of the Windows at his House, in his ordinary Habit. He was always attended with a Body-Guard of 10,000 Men; and it may be admired, that a young Man of no Education, brought up among a Parcel of ignorant Men, should in so few Days Time, be revered and obeyed by more than 500,000 Men, among which no less than 200,000 bore Arms, and be endued with Conduct to govern. He wrote under his Edicts, *Signor Thomaso Aniello d'Amalfi, Captain General of the faithful People of Naples*.

Massaniello ordered now his Followers to retire to their respective Homes, reserving only four Men to each Post, allowing every one of them one Carolin a Day, besides two Caraffs of Wine, and two Ounces of Bread a Day: Their Number throughout the City was no less than 30,000 Men.

This absolute Commander ordered also, that all the Nobility and Gentry, who had sheltered themselves in Convents, to return to their respective Habitations on Pain of Death; and that each Nobleman should put over his Door the King's Arms on the Right-hand and those of the City on the left. This was directly put in Execution. He was very severe in the Administration of Justice: A Baker being accused of having baked his Bread too light, he ordered the Delinquent to be thrown into an hot Oven, and there to be burnt alive.

Massaniello

106 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

Massaniello being now in Power, and having the Wealth of one of the richest Cities at his Command, shewed his Liberality in several Instances. He had a fine Horse presented him, which he immediately ordered for the King's Stables. He sent to the Vice-Roy, and others, large Presents of Provisions, Oats, Hay, and other Necessaries. Ten thousand Crowns, which he had found at a certain Place, were reserved for the Use of the King. He proffered the Vice-Roy to raise him five Millions in case he wanted it for the King's Service. He rewarded a menial Servant of the Duke of *Mataloni* with a Captain's Commission, and made him a handsome Present for the Discovery he made of his Master's hidden Treasures, and behaved in a very generous Manner on all Occasions. He also sent the same Day several Presents and other Necessaries to the Fleet of Admiral *Doria*, who had put into that Harbour for Refreshment.

The Duke of *Mataloni*'s rich Furniture was piled up, and converted into a Bonfire, and his very Effigy was treated in a most despicable Manner.

Cardinal *Trivultio* had not as yet paid his Visit to *Massaniello*, or shewn him any Testimony of his Respect, since his Access to the High Post of Honour to which he was preferred; but being advised by the Vice-Roy not to give the new Governor any Cause of Disgust, he repaired to *Massaniello*, in the Market-Place, and complimented him with the Title of *Illustrious*: *Massaniello* answered him, and said; *Your Eminence's Visit is very acceptable to us, although it is paid somewhat late.* He ordered a Guard of 200 chosen Men to conduct the Cardinal to his Palace. However, the Vice-Roy sent him that Day several fine Presents, in Return for the Provisions he had supplied him with, as did the Vice-Roy's Lady to his Wife, enquiring at the same Time after her Welfare.

On *Saturday* Morning several Criminals were executed, whilst every Thing was got ready for the Ratification of the Agreement. *Massaniello*, intending after Dinner to ride to the Vice-Roy in State, ordered that every House in those Streets through which
he

ENTERTAINMENT. 107

he was to pass, should be adorned with Tapestries, and his Injunction was immediately complied with. In the mean Time two fine Saddle-Horses were sent to *Massaniello*, one for himself, and the other for his Brother, which they mounted, dressed in their Silver brocaded Cloaths. *Massaniello* carried in his Right-hand a naked Sword, and the Charter of *Charles V.* in his Left, and his Brother carried the Agreement. They were accompanied by *Don Francisco Antonio Arpaja*, *Don Julio Genivino*, and several other Persons of Distinction. The Streets through which this Cavalcade was to pass, were so crowded with Spectators, that it was impossible to pass along. Wherefore *Massaniello* caused a Proclamation to be read, by which every one was ordered to withdraw to his own Quarters, which was immediately obeyed. Then *Massaniello* and the rest of his Retinue proceeded in good Order to the Vice-Roy's Palace, with a Trumpet at the Head of them.

The Vice-Roy then accompanying *Massaniello*, and the whole Train, to the Church of *St. Lawrence*, all the Way they passed, the People cried out, *Long live the King of Spain!* The Bells were rung throughout the City; the Sound of Trumpets and Kettle-Drums were heard in every Street, and the Joy of the People was universal, and not to be expressed. Being come in Sight of the Church, *Massaniello* halted, and turning himself to the People, cried with a loud Voice, *Long live the Duke of Arcos, and long live the loyal People of Naples!* All which Wishes were repeated after him by the Multitude. Then they proceeded in their March, and coming near the Cardinal's Palace, he met them with the Clergy, and accompanied them to Church. Being arrived there, the Cardinal and Vice-Roy seated themselves on their respective Thrones in the Choir; *Massaniello* stood all the Time close by the Cardinal, whilst the Treaty was read aloud, to every Article of which *Massaniello* either assented, or made such Alterations as he thought proper, without meeting with the least Obstruction or Controul; which when done, it was signed by
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the Vice-Roy, and the whole Regency. The *Te Deum* was sung, and all the People shouted for Joy.

Massaniello was now arrived to the highest Pitch of Honour, Greatness, and Glory; was revered, and almost adored among the People, who called him *their deliverer*. He was respected by the Vice-Roy, the Cardinal, and other Grandees; and had his Conduct, after these wonderful Exploits, continued the same, he might have escaped the unhappy Fate, which, with his Glory, like a sudden Torrent, overwhelmed him. But as soon as he had accomplished the great Work he had undertaken, he, either thro' too great Fatigue, or the Want of Sleep, grew perfectly delirious, and as high minded and Ambitious, as he had been before, was now on a sudden resolved, since he had been instrumental in the Deliverance of his Country from the intolerable Burden of Excise, under which it had groaned for several Years, to resume his original Employment, that of a Fruit-seller, and to get his Living as he done before; for which Purpose, he wanted to get rid of his brocaded Cloaths, running first to the Cardinal, then to the Vice-Roy, beseeching them on his Knees to assist him. But they both excused themselves, and the whole Assembly repaired from Church to their respective Habitations. Whilst the great Guns were fired from the City and the Castles, the Name of *Massaniello* was echoed round with Shouts, by all the People, as their Deliverer.

On Sunday, *Massaniello's* Fit of Humility was quite gone off, and he resumed the Authority with which he thought he was invested. He had ordered the Day before, that no Person, on Pain of Death, should depart the City; but that Day Don *Caffarelli*, Archbishop of St. *Severino*, being obliged to go from *Naples* to *Calabria* to his Church, went to *Massaniello* to procure a Licence for his Departure. What is your Pleasure, my Lord, said *Massaniello*? To beg your Leave, replied the Bishop, for my going to my Church in *Calabria*. *Massaniello* ordered that Instant 400 Men to conduct my Lord Archbishop to his Church. His Eminence humbly thanked him, but informed

ENTERTAINMENT. 109

informed *Massaniello* that he was obliged to go by Water. Then said *Massaniello*, let forty Barges be got ready for my Lord's Service. The Archbishop excusing himself, acquainted him, that he was already sufficiently prepared for his Passage. Then, said *Massaniello*, you must not refuse to accept of this my Respect, tendering to him, at the same Time, a Bag of 4000 Pistoles, in order to defray the necessary Expences of his Journey thither; and although the Archbishop modestly desired to be excused, he was obliged to take 500 of them.

It was impossible for *Massaniello* to behave with Decorum in his high Station; for the same Day he was guilty of such Actions as plainly shewed he was a Madman: A Knight of *Aversa* came to consult with him on the present Posture of Affairs, and to receive his Orders; having dispatched his Business, *Massaniello* gave the Knight a Kick on the Posteriors, and said, *Go, my Lord, I now create you a Duke of Aversa*. The same Morning he ordered a Baker's House to be burnt down, for having baked his Bread too light. Several Persons of Distinction were likewise beheaded by his Order, because they were either related to, or acquainted with the Duke of *Mataloni*. He compelled the Jesuits, Benedictines, and several other Heads of Convents, to raise a large Sum of Money for the publick Service. He summoned before him a great Number of Lords, and having asked them, whether they were true to the King, and they answering in the Affirmative, he made them sign a Bond or Obligation, wherein they were bound to raise a large Sum of Money. This he did, under Pretence that he had promised the Cardinal to send him six Millions for a present to the King of *Spain*, as a Mark of his Love and Allegiance towards him. He likewise prohibited the wearing of any Cloaths made after the *French* Mode, and was guilty of several other Extravagancies of the like Nature.

Towards Noon, several Citizens waited on the Cardinal and intreated him to intercede with *Massaniello* for saving the Lives of their Brothers, who

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were

110 The WINTER'S EVENING

were sentenced to die that Day. The Cardinal hastened to *Massaniello*, and prevailed with him, in Consideration of the Sabbath, to have the shedding of Blood suspended till another Day. The Cardinal finding him in a good Humour, advised him to go for Refreshment to *Pofilippo*, which he promised to do in case the Cardinal would accompany him thither; his Eminence begged of him to set out first, and he would follow him as soon as possible.

In the Afternoon, *Massaniello* went to the Vice-Roy without Hat, Sword, Neck-cloth, or Shoes on his Feet, and ran up Stairs, crying out for Victuals, like one that was almost famished. The Vice-Roy ordered Victuals to be brought accordingly; but then he refused it, desiring the Vice-Roy to accompany him to *Pofilippo*, he being there furnished with Plenty of Provisions. The Vice-Roy desired to be excused, pretending to be very much indisposed with the Head-ach, but offered him his Barge for his intended Passage, which he accepted of, and then set out, attended with 40 Boats, in which were such People, as by Musick, and other Amusements, might divert *Massaniello* upon the Water.

Whilst *Massaniello* thus diverted himself, in his Passage to *Pofilippo*, his Wife paid a Visit to the Vice-Roy's Lady: She was carried thither in a Coach of State, which the Duke of *Mataloni* had bought but lately for his Nuptials, and cost him 8000 Crowns; she was accompanied by her Mother and two Sisters, all dressed in Silver Brocades, and adorned with Jewels, golden Chains, Bracelets, and other Decorations. Being arrived at the Vice-Roy's Palace, they were received with great Marks of Distinction, entertained with choice Refreshments, and loaded with rich Presents; after which they returned again in the same State to the Market Place.

When *Massaniello's* Lady took Leave of the Vice-Roy's Consort, and the other Ladies of Quality, she espied *Cosmo Forseca*, whom she charged with an Express to the Vice-Roy, that from thenceforth her Husband should pay Obedience to none else but God and
his

ENTERTAINMENT. III

his Excellency. *Massaniello* was no sooner returned, but he sent for *Cosmo Forseca* ; and being intoxicated with the prodigious Quantity of Wine he had drank, gave Orders to erect several Marble Monuments, with the following Inscription :

Massaniello d'Amalfi, Captain and Head of the loyal People of Naples, commands, that from henceforth no one shall pay Obedience to him, but to the Duke of Arcos.

The next Day, being *Monday*, *Massaniello's* Madness increased ; and by his cruel Actions, he drew upon himself the Hatred of all the People. Early in the Morning he got on Horseback, and riding from the Market-Place to the Palace, he wounded several Persons, without any Manner of Provocation. He ordered several Persons to be executed for trivial Faults ; went into the King's Stables, and took out some of the Horses which he liked best. He sent an Order to *Don Feranto Caracciolo*, that, because he had not paid his Respect to him, when he met him in the Street, he should repair to the Market, and publicly kiss his Feet. The like Message he sent to the Master of the Horse, *Don Carlo Caracciolo*, who both intimated, in their Answer, that they would obey his Commands ; but having secured their best Effects, they went to the Vice-Roy, complaining of the Pride, Insolence, and Outrages of *Massaniello* ; at last, they concluded there was a Necessity to rid the City of that Monster as soon as possible. Whilst they were yet deliberating, two of *Massaniello's* chief Councillors came also to make their Complaints, that they were not secure of their Lives, that he treated them in a most scandalous Manner, threatening to cut off their Heads on any Dislike of their Conduct, though on the most trivial Occasions.

This Behaviour of *Massaniello* put every one in a Panick ; yet No-body durst presume to make an Attempt on his Person, he being attended with more than 150,000 fighting Men. However, not only the Love and Obedience to him, but the Affection like-

112 *The* WINTER'S EVENING

wife of the commanding Officers, was very much abated, on Account of his tyrannical Proceedings; some of the Chiefs went to the Cardinal, assuring him, that they were tired with *Massaniello's* Administration; that in case the Vice-Roy would be pleased to confirm the late granted Privileges, they would be submissive and obedient to his Excellency. The Vice-Roy being acquainted therewith, made a solemn Promise to grant their Request, and published this his Declaration the same Day. He also resolved to make another solemn Oath before the People at the Church of St. *Augustine*, without *Massaniello's* being present on that Occasion, who was in the mean while sent in the Vice-Roy's Barge to take his Pleasure at *Pesilippo*. And lastly, it was concluded, that he should be confined in Prison for Life, but not killed, on Account of the Service he had done to the Publick.

In the mean Time, *Massaniello* returned from *Pesilippo*, and repaired to the Gallies, where he put several Captains and Officers into Commissions: From thence he went into the Market, where he threatened to take off the Heads of several of his principal Attendants, among whom he had pointed out the two before-mentioned Counsellors, because they had not attended him that Day; he even threatened to set the whole City on Fire, for their Disobedience. At last being overheated, he ran, and flung himself headlong into the Sea; but coming out again, he, Sword in Hand, made such Havock, that the Archbishop could not pacify him; whereupon the Captains and other Officers found it necessary to lay hold on him, and clapped him in Irons at his own House. At Midnight, the Burghers, with Consent of the Populace took up Arms in Behalf of the Vice-Roy.

Massaniello's principal Secretary coming from the Castle *Chiaja*, being unacquainted with what had happened with regard to his Master, and seeing the People all in Motion, asked, with a Sort of Surprise, who was the Cause of it, and by what Orders the Burghers had taken up Arms? One of the Captains answered

ENTERTAINMENT. 113

answered him boldly, it was done by Order of the Vice-Roy; whereupon inconsiderately he replied; 'Tis well, I'll repair to the Market; your Head shall pay for it.' This Captain, without changing more Words, drew his Sword and killed him on the Spot. The Burghers severed the Head from the Body, and putting it on a Pike, carried it about in Triumph; his Body was also dragged through the Streets of the City.

That same Day was the Festival of *Madona del Carmine*; *Massaniello* had by some means or other got his Liberty, and entering the Church of the *Carmelites*, he there waited the coming of the Cardinal, who, as usual on that Day, performed high Mass; he was no sooner entered, but *Massaniello* represented to him, that now the People had forsaken him, and that he was betrayed. He wished, that for his Consolation, a Grand Procession might be made in Honour of *Madona del Carmine*; that then in Case he should meet with Death, he should die contented. Upon this, he gave a Letter to the Cardinal, beseeching him to deliver it to the Vice Roy. The Cardinal then embracing him, and praising his holy Zeal, dispatched a Gentleman with a Letter to the Vice-Roy, and immediately repaired to the great Altar to perform High Mass; *Massaniello* went into one of the Galleries, and holding a Crucifix in his Hand, recommended himself to the Favour of the People, praying them not to forsake him, in Consideration of the signal Service he had done them.

The Cardinal, together with the whole Clergy, were interrupted by *Massaniello's* applying to the People; wherefore some of the Clergy went up to him, and conducted him down Stairs; coming to the Cardinal, he fell down at his Feet, beseeching him to send his Chaplain to the Vice-Roy, and to deliver up to him, in his Name, all that Command and Authority with which he was invested. The Cardinal promised to comply with his Request; but seeing *Massaniello* in a violent Sweat, ordered him to be conducted into a private Chamber belonging to

114 *The* WINTER'S EVENING

that Convent. When he came there, he went to a Window that looked into the Sea, in order to recover his Breath, and tho' he was accompanied with some of his Favourites, a Band of bold Gentlemen entered the Church, crying aloud, *Long live the King of Spain! no one dare to obey Massaniello, on Pain of Death.* Hereupon they went to the Convent, and enquiring for *Massaniello*, who hearing his Name mentioned, turned himself to them, and going to meet them, said, *Do you seek me? Here I am, my People:* He had hardly uttered these Words, but four of the Confederates presented their Pieces, and shot him thro' the Head; he instantly fell to the Ground, saying, *Ah! traditori ingrati! Oh ungrateful Traitors!* and then expired.

The same Moment, a Butcher, with his Cleaver, cut off his Head, placed it on a Pole, and entered the Church, in which were near 8000 Souls at least; from thence they went to the Market, crying aloud, *Long live the King of Spain! and let no Man, on Pain of Death, presume to name Massaniello; Massaniello is dead.* Hereupon, they fired with Powder only among the People: Who surprized at having lost their Leader, retired in the utmost Disorder and Confusion, each making the best of his Way to his own Habitation.

The Mob, who dragged *Massaniello's* Body thro' the Streets, received Money, Thanks and Blessings in Abundance from the People. The Nobility, as soon as they were acquainted with *Massaniello's* Death, got on Horseback, and in a grand Cavalcade waited on the Vice-Roy, who received them with all the Testimonies of Joy and Friendship. The Cardinal was one of the first who congratulated his Excellency on the Fall of the *Usurper*, and immediately all the Officers were ordered to retire to their Places of Rendezvous, and appear with their Men in Arms; and that on Pain of Death, no Obedience should be paid to any one but the Vice-Roy. *Massaniello's* Wife, Sisters, and Relations were ordered to be taken into Custody. His Brother *Matthew*, who was gone with
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ENTERTAINMENT. 115

some armed Men upon an Expedition to *Benevento*, with an Intent to take the Duke of *Mataloni*, was by a Detachment of Horse taken Prisoner, and carried to *Naples*, but to sooth the Populace, both he and *Massaniello's* Wife and Kindred, were set at Liberty.

Upon this, publick Thanksgivings were observed in all the Churches, and *Te Deum* was sung; after which, the Vice Roy repaired to the Market-Place, where, by the Sound of Trumpet, he caused to be proclaimed, that the People from thenceforth should enjoy their Privileges.

This was answered by the Populace with loud Acclamations, and *Long live the King!* The Shops, which all the Time of the Insurrection had been shut, were opened, the *German* and *Spanish* Soldiers repaired to their Posts, and the Watch-Houses of the City, and joy appeared in every Countenance.

Thus ended the Life, and with it the Regency of *Massaniello*, the Wonder of the World, and the Admiration of future Ages. But we must here inform the Reader, that the People of *Naples* were of such a wavering Temper, that *Massaniello* was soon after his Death, as much admired as he was despised but a little before. And to testify their Respect to his Memory, they had his Head sewed to his Body again, and bestowed on him a Funeral with the utmost Pomp and Solemnity, it being attended by the whole Clergy, many of the principal Officers, and an innumerable Crowd of Burghers. He was buried in the Church *del Carmine*, and a Monument was erected in Memory of his wonderful Atchievements.

C H A P. VII.

The Insurrection and Rebellion in and about the City of London, in the Year 1381.

IT was in the Year of King *Richard II.* 1381, when the Poll-Tax was by Act of Parliament levied in a gentle Manner, and many Persons were excused by the Collectors; but as there are too many, who strive to enrich themselves at the Expence of the Publick,

Publick, there were some who perswaded the King and Council, that, if more Rigour was used in the collecting it, it would bring in much larger Sums; and even offered Money to farm it, so as to have the Management thereof to themselves; in all Probability, they were *Flemings*, and having gained their End at Court, the new Collectors, appointed by those Farmers, gathered that Tax with the utmost Strictness. One who collected in *Kent*, demanded of one *Tyler*, at *Deptford*, twelve Pence for one of his Daughters; the Father affirmed, that she was not arrived to the Age set down in the Act of Parliament; upon which, the insolent Collector, attempting to know the Truth by an indecent Action, the Father, with his Hammer, knocked out his Brains. All the Spectators applauded this Action, and promised to protect him. This Action stirred up not only the People of *Deptford*, but, among the meaner Sort, the whole County of *Kent* to a Rebellion, who were soon followed by those of *Essex*.

Then *Tyler*, commonly called, *Wat Tyler*, soon appeared at the Head of 100,000 Men, breathing Revenge on the Nobles and Professors of the Law. Thus attended, he marched directly to *London*, freeing in his Rout all the Prisoners in the publick Goals, and among the rest, *John Ball*, a Priest, who by his seditious Sermons, from this Text,

*When Adam delv'd, and Eve span,
Who was then a Gentleman?*

perswaded the People, that, as all Men were equally the Sons of *Adam*, it was their Duty to reduce the World to a perfect Equality. Pursuant to this Maxim, they resolved to dispatch all the Nobility, and all those that were distinguished by their Posts; and without further Consideration, cut off the Heads of all the Lords, Gentlemen, Judges, Counsellors and Lawyers, that fell into their Hands.

King *Richard*, hearing that the Rebels were come as far as *Black-Heath*, where *Wat Tyler* reviewed his Army, sent to know their Demands, who replied, that they

ENTERTAINMENT. 117

they had Affairs of great Importance to communicate to the King, and desired to have a Conference with him. This insolent Request being debated in Council, some were of Opinion, that the King should comply with the Rebels; alledging, that since he was not in a Condition to withstand them, Gentleness was the only Way to reclaim them; but *Simon Sudbury*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Robert de Hales*, Prior of *St. John's*, and High-Treasurer of *England*, strenuously opposed it, maintaining, that it was not safe for the King to venture his Person with such a Rabble; and, accordingly, the Request of the Seditious was rejected, with such Menaces and Threatnings, as were little agreeable to the Situation of the Court. The News of this so furiously enraged the Rebels, that they directly marched towards *London*, entered *Southwark*, and having plundered the Inhabitants thereof, they endeavoured to enter the City. *London-Bridge* had then Gates, which, being shut at their Approach, might have stopped, for some Time, their Impetuosity, if the Mob, who presently sided with them, had not opened them, in spite of the Magistrates; upon which, they entered into the City, where they committed all the Ravages that could be expected from such a numerous Body, guided solely by their Fury. The Duke of *Lancaster's* Palace was reduced to Ashes; and the Houses of such, as they apprehended to be their Enemies, were given up to be rifled; tho' their Leaders pretending not to be swayed by Avarice, would not suffer their People to appropriate to themselves any Part of the Booty, and even threw into the Fire, which consumed all their plundered Riches, a Man, who would have retained a Piece of Plate. In this universal Confusion, *London* was like a Town taken by Storm; for the Archbishop's Palace, the *Temple*, with all the Writings preserved there, and the Houses of the Judges, Lords, and principal Citizens, were devoured by the Flames. This unruly Mob took care to accomplish their Oath, to extirpate all Appearances of Grandeur and Distinction; but the
Flemings,

118 *The* WINTER'S EVENING

Flemings, above all others, were exposed to their Fury. They dragged them from the Churches, where they had taken Sanctuary; and upon their not being able to pronounce certain Words, very difficult for Foreigners, they were immediately massacred.

The Rebels, having given these first Marks of their Fury, approached the Tower, which might have been easily defended, had not the Terror, spread in the Garrison, caused them to open the Gates; and, finding there the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Treasurer, they, without any Process, cut off their Heads. Upon this, they divided themselves into three Bodies; for *Wat Tyler* continued about the Tower, with 30,000 Men; *Jack Straw*, another of their Captains, advanced into the City, with the Rebels of *Essex*, to the Number of 60,000; and the rest, under the Conduct of another Leader, lodged themselves upon *Mile-End-Green*.

In the Interim, the King and Council, after long Debates how to put a Stop to these furious Proceedings, could find out no better Expedient, than to offer the Rebels an authentick Charter, confirming the Privileges of the People, and a general Pardon for all Crimes committed since the Insurrection; which Offers the *Essex* Men readily accepted, tho' they were now in the Heart of the City; and leaving some of their Leaders to forward the Charters and Pardon, they returned to their Habitations.

However *Wat Tyler* was not so tractable, though he pretended, that his sole View was to obtain equitable Terms; yet, as he seemed willing to enter into a Negotiation with the King himself, *Richard*, with a few Attendants, came to *Smithfield*, from whence he sent a Knight, to desire him to come and confer with him. *Wat* insolently replied, that he would come, when he thought proper; yet he advanced immediately, at the Head of his Troops, but so slowly, that the King, being impatient, and willing to press him to make Haste, dispatched the same Knight to him again, tho' it had like to have cost him his Life. *Wat Tyler* was just entered *Smithfield*,
when

ENTERTAINMENT. 119

when the Knight delivered the King's Message, without alighting, not in the least imagining that he would have insisted on that Ceremony : But the proud Leader so highly resented this Want of Respect, that he would have killed him, if the King, who was himself advancing, had not cried out to the Knight to dismount.

Wat Tyler, in his Interview with the King, who were both on Horseback, made such extravagant Proposals, that *Richard* was utterly at a Loss what to reply ; for he demanded, that all the antient Laws should be abolished, and the Government modelled, according to certain fantastical Notions framed by himself ; and, even whilst he made these Demands, he every now and then lifted up his Sword, as it were to threaten the King, if he did not immediately comply with what he had proposed ; but this his brutish Insolence so raised the Indignation of *William Walworth*, Mayor of *London*, who attended the King, that, without considering to what Danger he exposed his Master, he discharged such a Blow on the Rebel's Head, with his Sword, that, he laid him dead at his Feet.

This imprudent, tho' resolute Action, had a natural Tendency to ruin the King, and all his Attendants ; and indeed the Rebels, when they saw their Leader on the Ground, encouraged each other to revenge his Death, and even bent their Bows to shoot at the King and his Retinue ; but *Richard* prevented the Danger, by a bolder and more prudent Action than could be expected from a Prince only fifteen Years old ; who turning to the Rebels, cried with a loud and courageous Voice : ' What, my Lieges ! What, will you kill your King ? Be not dejected at the Loss of your Leader ; for I myself will now be your General ; follow me into the Field, and you shall have all the Satisfaction you can possibly desire.' Upon these Words, he gently turned his Horse, and putting himself at their Head, rode towards *St. George's Fields* ; and the young King's Resolution had such an Effect on the Minds of the Rebels, that they altered their
first

120 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

first Purpose, and followed him without Delay ; but they were no sooner come into the Fields, than they perceived, on their March towards them, a Troop of 1000 armed Citizens, raised by the Mayor, under the Command of Sir *Robert Knolles*, an Officer of great Reputation. They were so extremely terrified at this Sight, falsely concluding that all *London* was in Readiness to attack them, that the foremost Ranks threw down their Arms, and begged Quarter ; which Proceeding struck such a Terror into the Rest, tho' they were ignorant of the Cause, that in a few Moments, the whole Multitude was dispersed, without the Effusion of any Blood, except that of their Leader.

At the same Time, *Littester*, an Ale-house-keeper at *Norwich*, headed another Body of Rebels in the County of *Norfolk*, and cruelly put to Death all the Judges and Lawyers, that fell into his Hands ; and, as for the Lords and Gentlemen, he was so insolent, as to oblige them to serve him on the Knee ; but if any one scrupled to submit to that Indignity, he immediately ordered him to be beheaded. Thus he treated the Earl of *Suffolk*, who could not approve of the Rebellion ; but, as it was impossible for the King's Council to take speedy and effectual Measures to remedy these Disorders, it was necessary, that private Persons should of themselves use their Endeavours, without staying for Orders from Court, to free themselves from the impending Danger. *Henry Spencer* Bishop of *Norwich*, a Prelate of great Courage, though not of a military Profession, thinking it his Duty to do something more than barely offer up Prayers, on such a pressing Occasion, which equally threatened Clergy and Laity, headed a few loyal Subjects ; and attacking the Rebels, he made a terrible Slaughter ; but the two Leaders, *Wraw* and *Littester* being taken in the Fight, the first was beheaded upon the Spot, and the other sent to *London*, to receive the just Reward of his Crimes.

These Commotions being appeased sooner, and more happily than could be expected, the King, by Advice

ENTERTAINMENT. 121

Advice of his Council, resolved to chastise the Guilty ; and, accordingly, the Lords received Orders to raise in every County Troops of known Loyalty, and bring them to *London*. In a short Time an army of 40,000 Men was drawn together ; which being divided into two Bodies, one marched into the County of *Kent* ; and, at the Head of the other, the King went himself to punish the People of *Essex*, who began to stir again, upon the Revocation of the Charter and general Pardon ; but, as they had not Leisure to concert just Measures, being prevented by the King's Diligence, they were easily defeated. Great Numbers were slain, and many others reserved for publick Examples ; and among the latter, was *Jack Straw*, Companion to *Wat Tyler*, and Head of the *Essex* Rebels.

We here must not omit the Confession of *Jack Straw*, which he made before he was executed :
 ' When we were assembled, said he, on *Black-Heath*,
 ' and sent for the King to come to us, we intended
 ' to slay all the Knights and Gentlemen that attended
 ' him ; as for the King, we should have kept him ;
 ' because the People might more boldly join with us,
 ' and having by that Means got Power enough, we
 ' would have slain all the Noblemen, and especially
 ' the Knights of *Rhodes*, and then killed the King ;
 ' but all Gentlemen possessed of Estates, together with
 ' the Bishops, Monks, Priests, and Friars, we
 ' would have spared for the Administration of the
 ' Sacraments. Then we would have devised and in-
 ' stituted Laws, by which the People should have
 ' been ruled ; for we would have created Kings, as
 ' *Wat Tyler* of *Kent*, and others of other Counties.
 ' And that Day, when *Wat Tyler* was killed, that
 ' same Evening we were to have set Fire to the City
 ' of *London*, and divided the Spoil amongst us. And
 ' this was our Purpose, as God may help me now at
 ' my last End.'

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C H A P. VIII.

The Insurrection at the Hague, with the Massacre of the two Brothers, John and Cornelius de Witt.

IT will be requisite, in the first Place, to say something of the Pedigree and Preferments which the *De Witts* had in publick Employments, and Places of Honour and Trust.

The Father of these two unhappy Brothers lived in the City of *Dort*; his Name was *Jacob de Witt*, a Man of reputable Extraction, who, on Account of his extraordinary Knowledge in Arithmetick and Astronomy, was famed all over the Country.

His eldest Son, *John de Witt*, was endued with an excellent Genius; he imbibed in his Youth the Principles of that great Philosopher *Cartesius*, and adhered to them afterwards. He was a great Orator, a witty Poet, and in Mathematicks a second *Euclid*; which, with all his other Qualifications, made him a compleat Politician. He was laborious in his Studies, and active in Business; sociable and pleasant in Conversation; quick of Apprehension, and had an excellent Memory. All these Accomplishments made him not only beloved, and highly esteemed by all Men of Sense, but were the Occasion of his Advancement to the Reins of Government. But to be short, *John de Witt* arrived to the Dignity of being Lord High Pensioner; and it is well known, that in the Beginning of this his Advancement, he sided with the Party that were opposite to the Interest of the then Prince of *Orange*, and did all that lay in his Power to strengthen that Faction. However, the Friends of the Prince kept up the Majority; and he was chosen Captain General of all the *Dutch* Forces. Mean while, in *May*, in the Year 1672, a War broke out with *England* and *France*, and the *Dutch* were obliged to equip both their Land and Sea Forces, in order to face two such powerful Enemies. *John de Witt's* Party, still at the Helm of Publick Affairs, resolved to try their utmost Effort at Sea against the *English*.

ENTERTAINMENT. 183

English. *Cornelius de Witt* was made High Admiral, and nothing was wanting which was required for that Expedition: On the other Hand, the Prince was sent, with a Handful of Men, against the *French*, who were already before the City of *Utrecht*, with a powerful Army, and in Possession of that, and several other Places. All the Provinces were in the greatest Consternation and Confusion, and the Populace seeing their Ruin and Destruction at Hand, laid all the Blame upon *De Witt*. A Jealousy also spread all over *Holland*, that they were betrayed by those who were in the Government, and that *De Witt* intended, that all should perish, rather than the Family of *Orange* should be set up. Wherefore they called to Mind the heroic Actions of that Prince's Ancestors, and the great Deliverances they had seen under their Administrations; and therefore unanimously resolved, that the Prince's Oath of ever renouncing the Stadtholdership, should be void, and the perpetual Edict, made on this Account, be repealed; the first being extorted, and the latter concerted, at the Time when the chief Command of the *Dutch* Army and Fleet was conferred upon the Prince. The Cities of *Dort*, *Gouda*, and *Delft*, made the Beginning; the Rest soon followed, and his Highness at the same Time was declared Stadtholder of the *United Provinces*: The States gave him full Power of Peace and War. *Amsterdam*, to shew her Zeal for the Prince of *Orange*, offered him the Sovereignty over her; but he modestly refused it, telling them, that he was contented with the Honour he was invested with. It was on the 23d of *June*, 1672, when the perpetual Edict was repealed. On the 30th, the Prince of *Orange* took his Oath, as Stadtholder, at the *Hague*, and sat the first Time as President in the Council of State. *July* 26, *John de Witt* petitioned for Leave to resign his Post of Pensionary, yet to continue so far as to have a Seat in Council; but it was denied him. His Brother, *Cornelius de Witt*, being accused of Mismanagement in his Post of High Admiral, was imprisoned.

124 *The* WINTER'S EVENING

As *John de Witt* one Night was going Home from the States, four Persons set on him to murder him; but he shewed a great Resolution and Courage on this Occasion; for though he was wounded in several Places, yet he got out of their Hands, and one of them was taken and condemned for it. All *De Witt's* Friends pressed him to save this Criminal's Life; but he thought that an Attempt on a Man of his Post, was a Crime not to be pardoned. The young Man confessed his Crime, and repented of it, protesting that he was set on by No-body; but what he had done was out of Zeal for his Country and Religion, which he thought were betrayed: He died in a Rapture of Devotion, which made a great Impression upon the Minds of the Spectators. At the same Time, a Barber accused *De Witt's* elder Brother of endeavouring to bribe, and hire him to murder the Prince. *Cornelius de Witt* was put to the Torture; but he stood firm to his Innocence, and the Sentence was softened, rather to the State of Affairs, than to the strict Rules of Justice. In the mean Time, his Brother resigned his Charge of Pensionary, and was made one of the Judges of the High Court; but *Cornelius de Witt* was sentenced to Banishment; which was intended as a Means of removing, rather than punishing him.

It was the 15th of *August*, when in the Evening a Rumour was spread, that *Cornelius de Witt* had made his Escape out of Prison. This drew Abundance of People together; some of whom beset the Gates of the Prison all Night, till the next Morning, when the Riot was so encreased, that some of the Council thought proper to go to the Prison, in order to advise *De Witt* to shew himself at one of the Windows, which accordingly he did; whereupon the Tumult seemed to abate: But the Burghers appeared in Arms, and chose some of the principal Men to wait upon the Prince, and desire him to take care for the securer Imprisonment of *Cornelius de Witt*. His Highness thanked the Burghers for their Care; but told them as *De Witt* was in the Hands of People who were intrusted with that Affair, he would leave it to their Management.

ENTERTAINMENT. 125

Management. Nevertheless, the Burghers had the Gates of the Prison watched by two Centinels, both Night and Day.

The 20th of *August*, Sentence was passed for his Banishment. No sooner was this done, but the Barber came from the Court, and acquainted the Burghers with what had happened. You see now, says he, who is in the right, and who in the wrong; I am set at Liberty, and quitted of all Cost and Charges; *De Witt's* Life is still saved, and he is only to be banished. Do but mind, it will not be long before you will see him come again. This occasioned such an Outcry among the Burghers, that all the Town was in an Alarm. *John de Witt* was come with his own Coach to carry his Brother out of Town, and about Eleven o'Clock at Noon the Gate was opened. The Pensionary came first, and his Brother followed him close; but a Woman, who at first Sight of them, cried out, What the Devil is here to do? Watch! Burghers! Here come the Traitors; drive them back, or else knock them on the Head. Whereupon both Centinels bid the Brothers go back, or else they would be fired upon. The Pensionary thought himself yet in Authority to speak; but the Burghers cocked their Pieces and aimed at them; wherefore they thought it proper to go back, and Up-stairs; upon which, the Coachman, who had waited their coming, went to carry this News to his Master's Friends, who were at *Cornelius de Witt's* House, to partake with him and his Brother, of a Collation that was provided against their Coming.

After the two Brothers had been for some Time over the Prison Gate, some of the Rabble whispered about, that *Cornelius* had made his Escape: Whereupon, two of the Head Officers of the Burghers, and four others, went up Stairs, where they found *Cornelius* in his Night-Gown, laid down upon the Bed, and his Brother the Pensionary sitting in a Chair, who being a Man of Courage, Conduct and Eloquence, spoke to the two Officers in the most handsome Manner, representing to them his and his Brother's Innocence,

126 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

cence, in very moving Terms, and even prevailed with them to stay, and partake of a Dinner in that Place.

At one o'Clock, all the Burghers Companies appeared in Arms ; two of them ranged themselves before the Prison-Gate, and would suffer No-body to pass through, with Intent to prevent Disorders ; the Rest planted themselves on each Side of the Gate : The three Companies of Dragoons, who were at that Time at the *Hague*, were coming to their Place of Rendezvous, but were kept back by the Burghers, some of whom got to the Tops of Houses, to watch the Escape of the two *De Witt's*. A Rumour was spread, that several Thousands of Peasants and Fishermen were in full March to plunder the *Hague*, whilst they were watching a Couple of Traitors. The Burghers Patience then was tired, and not seeing the Officers return, they flung Stones against the Prison-Door, and shot with Bullets at it, although the Officers shewed themselves out of the Window, and told them that all was safe and well ; yet their Murmuring encreased, from Apprehensions, as well that the Escape of the *De Witt's* would be favoured, as that their Houses were exposed to the Plunder of the Peasants and Fishermen ; for which Reason, some among the Mutineers proposed to have them carried to the Town-House, where they might be secured, without giving themselves that Trouble : Others, of less Moderation, would have them killed outright. One of the Crew cried out, ' Let us carry them to *Raven-sone*, (the Place of Execution) and shoot them dead ;' another called out, ' he would be the first Executioner ;' ' Come, said he, follow me :' whereupon, by a Volley of Musket-shots, and beating with great Hammers, they soon battered the Prison-Door to Pieces ; then several rushed in with Fury and Rage, each striving to be the first. Coming to the inner Prison-Door, they broke that down with their Hammers, and the third also ; then coming to the Room in which were the two *De Witt's*, they fired their Muskets against it, and shattered the Door to Pieces.

And

ENTERTAINMENT. 127

And now begins the tragical End of *John* and *Cornelius de Witt*.

The Pensionary was found sitting on the Bed, in which his Brother was lying in his Night-Gown, reading in a Bible: 'Gentlemen, said he to the Furies, 'what is your Will, and why all this Violence?' He was answered, that they must go down: He asked them further; 'What is it you design to do to us?' They all cried out, 'To kill you, to kill you, to knock you on the Head.' In the Interim, one of the assailants pulled *Cornelius* by the Gown from the Bed, saying, 'Come along, you Dog, get you down.' When the Pensionary saw that no good Words would appease the Rage of these Men, he took his Brother by the Hand, and went with him down Stairs, receiving at the same Time several Blows, Pushes and bitter Curses. Going along, he was wounded with a Lance, in his Eye, whereupon he lifted his Hands and Eyes up to Heaven, and recommended his Soul to the Hands of God. He thought, when he was got out of the Prison-Door, to go behind the armed Burghers, and not thro' the Line they had formed; but he was presently taken hold of by the Burghers, and carried to *Ravenstone*, with an Intent to shoot him, but his Piece missing, the Russian turned it, and with the Butt-End knocked him on the Head, upon which he fell to the Ground. He no sooner got up, but was knocked down again: Whereupon, with an undaunted Mind, he called out to his Murderers, 'What, Gentlemen! What, Burghers!' wrapping his Cloak about his Face, not to shew them his own Misery. These were his last Words; for he was presently, by several at once, shot through the Head.

His Brother *Cornelius*, who was not above six Steps behind him, was attacked, as soon as he was got without the Gate, where he was beaten, and twice run through with a Sword: Whilst he was falling, he received another Wound, and then was shot through the Head. Here the Violence of the Burghers ceased, and all the Companies marched to their Rendezvous,

Rendezvous, where they were discharged by their Captains, and every one went about his Business leaving the murdered Bodies of the two Brothers to the Fury and Rage of the Mob, who no sooner had them in their Power, but they tore their Cloaths in a thousand Pieces, tied their Legs with Match-Cord, dragged them to the Place of Execution, which was not far off, and hanged them by the Legs on Gibbets, stripped them stark naked, and carried the torn Rags of their Garments on Sticks in Triumph. One of those Savages cut off two of the Pensionary's Fingers, saying they had sworn to the perpetual Edict; and coming down the Scaffold among the Mob, they bid him Money for them; which others hearing, climbed up the *Ravenstone*, or the Scaffold, and cut off their Noses, Ears, Fingers, Toes, and even pulled their Teeth out: They then cut open their Bellies, took out their Guts, which they extended upon Sticks, and sold them by Inches, up and down the Streets. A Tooth was sold for 12*d.* a Finger for 18*d.* or 2*s.* and a Toe for as much, which Members they afterwards preserved in Spirits: The Rags of their Cloaths were very dear, and preserved as Relicks. But what was most shocking, was, that some of those Furies acted the Parts of perfect Cannibals, or inhuman Men-Eaters; for they not only cut and mangled the Entrails of those two misused Carcases, but tore them with their Teeth: Others broiled some of their Flesh, to eat it, saying that they would do it, altho' it should poison them. One of those merciless Wretches got both their Hearts, which he preserved in Spirits, and they were afterwards seen at a certain Burgher's House at the *Hague*.

At Night, about Eleven o'Clock, after the furious Rabble was gone, a Coach and five Footmen came to *Ravenstone*, and with the Leave of the Burghers, took the Remains of the mangled Carcases of those two unhappy Brothers and carried them to *John De Witt's* House, to inter them the next Day. The Mob, hearing of this, proposed to take them out of their Graves, and burn them to Ashes, lest they should be held

ENTERTAINMENT. 129

held in Veneration in future Ages: And being informed, at the same Time, that *John De Witt's* Escutcheon was at the Sexton's, in order to be hung up in the Church, they went and took it from thence, carried it with Derision through all the Streets, and broke it into a thousand Pieces: The same was done with the Escutcheon of *Cornelius De Witt*, at *Dort*; and thus this Tragedy ended; and it is very remarkable, that in all this Tumult, none came to any Hurt, but those two unhappy Victims. Whilst this was acting, the States General were assembled, and busy in chusing a new Pensionary, *John De Witt* having had Leave to resign his Post a few Days before.

CHAP. IX.

The Insurrection at the City of Moscow, in the Year 1608.

IT was on the 9th of *June*, 1608, when Czar *Alexis Micolowitz*, together with the Patriarch of *Russia*, the Bishops and the inferior Clergy, were to attend a grand Procession. The Populace, who had for a considerable Time groaned under heavy Taxes, and suffered most intolerable Impositions and Encroachments from the *Bajars*, or Governors, judged it a favourable Opportunity of getting Access to the Czar's Person, and of delivering a Petition into his own Hands, they resolved to acquaint him with their deplorable Case; and to beseech his Majesty to see their Grievances in some Measure redressed. According to this Resolution, they had a Remonstrance drawn up in Form, and sent their Deputies to deliver the same; but in attempting to give it into his Majesty's own Hands, it was snatched out of their's by the *Bajars*, who surrounded his Person; they not only tore the Remonstrance in Pieces, and flung them into the Deputies Faces, but ordered their Footmen to carry some of them to Prison. This Proceeding put the People into a violent Rage; so they unanimously resolved, that as they could not have their Grievances redressed by fair Means, they would hazard their
Lives

Lives and Fortunes in obtaining some Relief by force. They therefore immediately took up Arms, and being joined by 10,000 Men of the Militia, who were likewise much aggrieved by the insolent Behaviour of their Colonels and Captains, they marched directly in a Body, to Prince *Morosoph*, who was the Czar's own Uncle; and who, next his Majesty, had the Reins of Government of the whole Empire in his Hands: They stripped and plundered his Palace of all its rich Furniture, demolished and cut in Pieces every Thing of what Kind or Value soever; they reduced Jewels and Pearls into Powder, and flung it in the Dirt, not suffering the least Thing to be carried off, on Pain of Death; crying out, *this is our Blood*. Having thus demolished the Inside, they were now ready to pull down the whole Edifice, had they not been seasonably informed that it was the Czar's, upon which they desisted from executing their Design. In this Commotion most of *Morosoph's* Domesticks lost their Lives. His Steward proffered a Ransom of 15,000 Crowns, but the incensed Mob would hearken to no Bribes; however, he had the good Fortune to get into the Czar's Apartments, by which Means he saved his Life.

Having thus gratified their Resentment upon Prince *Morosoph's* Palace, they marched directly from thence to the High Chancellor of *Russia*, *Nazari Evanowitz*, who, at that Time being indisposed, was at a Bagnio. They soon found him out, and without any Compliments, dragged him by Force from thence among the Male-contents, who instantly knocked him down, and murdered him in a barbarous Manner. He that gave him the first Stroke cried out, *This is for the Excise on Salt*, he being reported to be the projector of it. Having dispatched him, and stripped him naked, they flung his mangled Carcase on a Dung-hill: From thence they went to the Burgomaster *Plessoph's* House, which they ransacked of all its Furniture, and broke and destroyed every Thing they laid their Hands on, tho' ever so valuable. This Gentleman had just made his Escape before their Arrival, and

was

ENTERTAINMENT. 131

was gone to screen himself in the Czar's Palace. After this, they marched directly to the House of *Troch-onitoph*, General of the Artillery, and served that in the same Manner, that Officer having made his Escape into a Convent without the City. Mean while it began to grow dark, and the Outrages of the Populace ended with the Day.

The next Morning was ushered in with the Plunder of thirty-six Houses, some of which belonged to Merchants, who were accused of holding Correspondence with the *Bajars*; then they marched in a Body to the Castle, or the Czar's Palace. On their first Arrival, they demanded three Lords who had taken Shelter there, *viz.* Prince *Morosoph*, Burgomaster *Plesscoph*, and General *Troch-onitoph*; they threatened, that in case of a Denial, they would fetch them by Force. *Plesscoph*, who had fled there for Protection, was the first that was delivered up, on Condition that he should be beheaded by the common Executioner, but the enraged Mob would have no Patience, and were resolved to save the Executioner the Trouble. No sooner therefore, was he delivered into their Custody, but he was cut, beat, and mangled in so inhuman a Manner, that he soon expired; after which he was stripped naked, and his Carcase was dragged to the Market-Place, and flung on a Dunghill. Not contented with this, they returned again to the Palace, and with loud Cries and Clamours, made an absolute Demand for Prince *Morosoph*, and General *Troch-onitoph*, nor would they be persuaded to desist from it by any Pretensions whatsoever. At last, his Czarian Majesty resolved to hazard his own Person, and see whether his Presence would have any Influence over them, in which dangerous Attempt he happened to succeed. He spoke to them in a most affectionate and endearing Manner; he desired them to suspend their Demand but for two Days, and promised them, by his Faith, and on his Word and Honour, (in Case he might have Time allowed him) to examine into their Complaints, and to redress their Grievances to their entire Satisfaction. The Populace being moved by his

132 *The* WINTER'S EVENING

his Speech to a Compliance, expressed their Confidence in this Declaration of his with loud Huzzas, and every one departed thence well pleased to his own Habitation.

In all Probability this Insurrection would have ended here, had not the City been set on Fire in five different Places that Afternoon, which, in less than fourteen Hours, reduced above 50,000 Houses to Ashes, and destroyed above 1700 Inhabitants. The Fire by Degrees spread itself to that Quarter, where was the Czar's Store-House for Brandy, near which lay the Carcase of the unfortunate *Plesscoph*, who the Day before was massacred by the Populace; a Priest made up to it, cut off the Head, dipped it in Brandy, and flung it in the Fire. The Mob seeing this, took the Trunk, and flung it after. In the mean Time, some of the Incendiaries, busy in setting another Quarter of the City on Fire, were apprehended in the Fact, who confessed that *Morosoph* had hired them, to revenge the Outrages committed against his Person by the Populace. This Confession being spread about, the Populace, enraged at so great a Villainy, marched directly up to the Castle, and demanded *Morosoph's* Person to be delivered to them immediately. The Czar ventured himself again to pacify their Clamours by fair Words; he assured them, that his Uncle, Prince *Morosoph*, was innocent of the Crime which those Miscreants and Incendiaries had laid to his Charge; he represented to them, that he had had the Care of his Education from his Infancy; and that he had been charged to shew him a peculiar Regard by the late Czar on his Death-Bed; but notwithstanding all this, they were resolute in their Demand, and insisted on his being delivered into their Hands. The Czar, still expostulating with them in his Uncle's Behalf, and finding them obstinately bent on having their Will, at last proposed, that if they would but spare his Life, he, in order to satisfy their Resentment, would banish him for ever to the furthestmost Parts of *Russia*, and there lock him up in a Convent. This he confirmed
by

ENTERTAINMENT. 133

by kissing the golden Cross, which was held to his Lips by the Patriarch who attended him. To this they at last consented, but still demanded General *Trokhonitoph*, who had taken Sanctuary in a Monastery. The Czar, seeing it was impossible to save his Life, gave Orders that he should be delivered up to the Executioner, to have his Head struck off, which was done accordingly.

Prince *Morosoph*'s Consort, Sister to the Czarina, endeavoured all that lay in her Power to save her Husband from the rigorous Sentence of being banished from her Arms and his Country; but the People were irreconcilable, their Hearts were hardened, and neither Tears nor Prayers from the illustrious Fair were able to prevail, or make them relent, or shew the least Pity and Compassion. They insisted on the Execution of the Czar's Declaration; for otherwise they were resolved to use violent Means, and force him from his Protection. To avoid the ill Consequences that might attend the Delay thereof, he was the same Day conducted with 250 Nobles, 150 Archers, and 150 Captains of the Militia, to *Kirile*, a Convent, 50 Miles beyond the *Wolga*, or 450 Miles from the City of *Moscow*, there to spend the Remainder of his Days.

CHAP. X.

The Insurrection at the City of Moscow, in the Year 1678.

IT may be justly said, that Oppression is the principal Cause and Mother of Sedition and Rebellion! This plainly appears from what has been related above; it was from the same Source, that not long after the great Insurrection broke forth at the same Place, with such an Impetuosity, as was not in the Power of the Civil Government to put a Stop to, but raged with such Violence, as to shake even the Imperial Throne of all *Russia*.

The Militia, or Soldiery, called by the *Russians*, the *Strelitz Guard* of *Moscow*, were the first Fomenters of this grand Insurrection; they formed their

M

Complaints

134 *The* WINTER'S EVENING

Complaints on the Hardships and Oppressions of their Colonels and Captains, who played the Tyrant, and made them subject to their exorbitant Will and Pleasure, by putting them to hard Labour, wronging them of their Pay, and using them after a slavish and servile Manner. Their Murmurings were heard in every Corner of the Streets, till at last they united in a general Complaint, and came to a Resolution to represent their deplorable Case to their Sovereign, and to petition him for Protection, and Redress of their Grievances; this they judged the most prudent Step they could take, for righting themselves on Account of the Wrongs they had suffered, and for making their Lives more happy and comfortable for the Time to come. For which End, they, with a general Consent, had a Petition drawn up in Form, and pitched on proper Persons from among themselves to deliver it.

The then Czar, *Fæder Alexowitz*, being much indisposed, and indeed on his Death-Bed, the Petition was lodged with the High-Chancellor, *Dolgoruky*; they humbly entreated him to present it to his Czarian Majesty, and to recommend them as fit Objects of his Imperial Favour and Protection.

Tho' *Dolgoruky* dismissed them from his Presence in a civil, Court-like Manner, yet he gave Orders directly to secure the Man that made the Speech, and delivered the Petition; he was instantly sent to the Parade before the Chancery, there to receive the Punishment of the *Knout* for his Impudence. The Sentence being read, he was stripped of his Cloaths, but before he laid down, he addressed himself to his Comrades: 'Brothers, said he, it was by your Choice and joint Consent, that I was pitched upon to deliver the Petition, and can you now stand tamely by, and see this Punishment inflicted on me, for what I was so ready and willing to serve you in?'

No sooner had he uttered these Words, but several of the Soldiers fell upon the Officers and the Executioner, and beat them so unmercifully, that they left them sprawling on the Ground, and carried off their Comrade

ENTERTAINMENT. 135

Comrade in Triumph. The Diack, or Sheriff, who was then present on Horseback, thinking it proper to make the best of his Way, retired; but he went directly to the Minister, *Dumaaw*, and informed him of what had happened. Night coming on, the Soldiers assembled in several Parts of the City; they were highly offended at the Proceedings of the High Chancellor, and resolved to revenge themselves on him, and all their Enemies: Accordingly they drew up a List of such Officers as had used them ill, and out of twenty Colonels, they pricked down nine, as just Objects of their Resentment; and bound themselves by Oath, either to have Justice done them by fair Means or by Force.

Thursday the 7th of *April*, the Czar died; Prince *Ivan Alexowitz* desired to be excused from succeeding his Father, on Account of an Impediment in his Speech, and his ill State of Health. Prince *Peter Alexowitz*, his Brother, was declared in Council to succeed him, and was thereupon proclaimed Czar of all *Russia*; whereupon the Soldiery took their Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity to their new Sovereign.

Friday the 28th, the late Czar's Funeral was performed, and the Soldiery created no Disturbance all that Day; but on *Saturday* following, they assembled in several Parties, and marched in a Body directly to the Castle, where they insisted on the Czar's Orders for taking into Custody the nine Colonels, by them so pitched upon, as mentioned before, and to oblige them to re-imburse what Money they had embezzled out of their Pay, and to satisfy them for the Business in which they had been employed; but should their Request be denied, they were ready to do themselves Justice, and in case Things should come to that Extremity, several others of the *Bajars*, or Courtiers, would be taken notice of, protesting they could bear the Tyranny of their Officers no longer, nor the Mal-Administration of those at the Helm.

This warm Declaration caused a great Consternation at Court, and Orders were immediately issued

136 *The* WINTER'S EVENING

out to take the nine Colonels into Custody : The Soldiers insisted on their being delivered into their Hands ; but what by the Perswasion of such as were in Credit and Esteem among the Soldiers, especially several of the Bishops, they were at last pacified ; and that the sooner, when they were assured, that these Officers should be cashiered, the Money due to them should be paid out of their Estates, and to have the Satisfaction of seeing some corporal Punishment inflicted on them ; whereupon they demanded to give them the Correction of the *Knout*, to which the Court consenting, it was executed on them the next Day before the Chancery, where being stripped, they were laid on with the *Knout*, 'till the Soldiers judged it sufficient. A few Days after, the Money was brought in, and distributed among such as had any Demands ; the nine Colonels being cashiered, returned to their Estates in the Country, for Fear a greater Evil should befall them, if they tarried in Town.

The Court now thought the Soldiers would be quiet, since they had granted every Thing they desired ; but a new Murmuring arose among them, they alledged, that the Election of a new Czar was contrary to their Constitution. They could not believe, that the eldest Prince *Ivan Alexowitz*, on Account of his ill State of Health, was unfit for mounting the Imperial Throne, or that he had excused himself from accepting the Crown : They insinuated, that it was a Contrivance of a Parcel of Traitors, especially of the *Nariskins*, Father and Brothers of the Mother of the present Czar *Peter Alexowitz*, who was then but ten years of Age ; they openly protested against the *Nariskins*, and against *Artemon*, who was lately called from Banishment, and against their having any Share in the Affairs of Government. However, this was not regarded any farther, but as an idle Talk, and no Change was made in the Ministry, except that the greatest Favourite of the late Czar, *Bajar Ivan Maximowitz Jasuko*, Master of Ordnance, was dismissed ; as was *Alexi* and *Michaelo Lichatzol*,
the

ENTERTAINMENT. 137

the first from being High Chancellor, and the second High Treasurer. The eldest Son of *Nariskin*, *Ivan Kirilowitz*, who was about 23 Years of Age, was advanced to be Master of the Ordnance; for which great Post he was by most People thought too young, and unqualified; his Brother *Offlonzki Kirilowitz*, about 20 Years old, was advanced to be Carver to his Czarish Majesty. In the mean Time, not only the *Strelitz* Guards, but the Generality of the People, were disgusted at such Advancements in the *Nariskin* Family, and a general Dissatisfaction was visible throughout the City.

Artemon, who, as has been observed before, was recalled from his Banishment, was no sooner arrived near the City of *Moscow*, but he heard of the Commotion among the People, on which Account he did not think proper to enter it before the Storm was over; and he being a Man of great Knowledge and Experience in publick Affairs, his Presence was much wished for at Court: The Czar's Coach was sent to receive him, which brought him on *Thursday* Evening, *May* 11th, to his House, prepared ready for his Reception. *Friday* Morning, he appeared at Court, where he was joyfully received by the Czar, the Czarina Dowager, and all the Princes and *Bajars* then present. The Czar honoured him with the Title of *Bajar*; all his forfeited Estates were again restored to him, together with his Servants and Slaves that then were dispersed in other Families. He had not only that Day, but likewise several Days after, the greatest Levees that ever any Minister of State had had before him; Presents were sent him from all Parts, his Store-house was replenished with Provisions of all Kinds, which the Country and Season could afford, and his Cellars were stocked with Wine. The Soldiery, as an Acknowledgment of their Respect, presented him with Bread and Salt. 'Tis inexpressible with what Love and tender Affection he was received by not only his Friends, but also by those who had been before against him; they promised themselves, from his wise Council and Conduct, the

138 The WINTER'S EVENING

Restoration of publick Peace and Tranquillity. This Minister did not at all approve of the Conduct of the Court, in advancing the Sons of the *Nariskin*, especially the eldest, to so high an Office; and he also apprehended some ill Consequences would attend the exorbitant Behaviour of the Colonel of the *Strelitz* Guards; he knowing by Experience, that if their Authority was not under some Restriction, they would, by their Insolence, be the Cause of great Disturbances. In the Interim, it was industriously rumoured about the *Strelitz* Guards, that it had been resolved in Council, that the Ringleaders of this Tumult should be secured and severely punished, and that the greatest Part of them should be dispersed up and down the Country in Garrisons; add to this, the Accusation against *Ivan Nariskin*, who having been always a rude Youth, shewed no Respect to the ancient *Bajars*, some of whom he had treated in the most insolent and despicable Manner, pulling them by their Beards, the greatest Affront that can be offered to a *Russian*; over and above this they accused him with having one Day presumed to put on the Czar's Vestment, and to seat himself on the Imperial Throne, saying none became the Crown so well as himself; and being chid by the Czarina-Dowager, the Princess *Sophia*, and the Prince *Ivan Alexowitz*, he in a Rage had made up to the Prince, and endeavoured to strangle him, but upon an Outcry, it was prevented by the Door-keepers entering the Room; and altho' this was, by the thinking Part of Mankind, looked upon as meer Lies and Invectives against the *Nariskin* Family, yet it gained Credit among the *Strelitz* Guards, and the common Sort of People.

Monday about Noon, whilst the *Bajars* were yet assembled in Council, some of the *Strelitz* Guards at the Castle, had the Insolence to cry out, that *Nariskin* had attempted to strangle Prince *Ivan Alexowitz*, who was brought forth, accompanied by the Czarina-Dowager, and the Princess *Sophia*, his Sister: Whereupon the *Strelitz* Guards, with one Voice cried out, *You are our Czar, you are our Czar; Death and Destruction*

ENTERTAINMENT. 139

fruition on all Traitors! they demanded, that the late elected Czar, *Peter Alexowitz*, should deliver up the Crown and Government to his elder Brother, which was instantly complied with. This being done, the Soldiery demanded to have the Traitors delivered up to them, and first of all, those of the *Nariskin* Family; they being resolved to destroy both Root and Branch; they also insisted, that the eldest Empress, *Natalia*, should shut herself up in an Nunnery; and, said they, 'We will with our Blood defend and protect our lawful Sovereign Czar, *Ivan Alexowitz*.'

Artemon, who a Day or two before was almost adored, imagined, that his Presence, and speaking to them, might assuage their Fury: He therefore, accompanied by *Dolgoruki*, junior, whose Father was a Man of great Figure among the Populace, came out to them, and in a friendly, engaging Manner, asked their Demand; they assured them, upon their Word and Honour, their Grievances should be redressed, and prayed them to withdraw in Peace; but the enraged Soldiers, instead of being pacified, took hold both of *Artemon* and *Dolgoruki*, calling them Traitors, and having dragged them to the Stair-case, flung them down, where they were most inhumanly massacred by those who stood below. They were stripped stark naked, their Cloaths torn, and their mangled Carcasses were flung on a Dung-hill. This tragical Scene was hardly removed off the Stage, but there appeared another: The *Strelitzers* demanded the other Traitors to be delivered up to them to receive their Reward; they had a List of their Names, which amounted to 46 Persons, among which *Nariskin* was the chief; but No-body coming out, they pushed forward, and without shewing the least Regard or Respect to the Czar, the Czarina-Dowager, or to the Princess *Sophia*, like Furies broke into their Apartments; where in one of them they found the second Son of *Nariskin*, whom they dragged along by his Hair, and flung down the Stair-case; those below received him upon their Pikes and Halberts; and being dispatched and stripped of his Cloaths, he was carried

140 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

carried to the Dunghill : In the next Place, they found *Iwannowitz*, with his Son, who had taken Sanctuary in the Church of the Castle ; they both were soon dispatched, stripped, and flung on the Dunghill with the rest.

In the mean while, the Soldiers cryed out : *Long live our Czar, Ivan Alexowitz ; but Death and Destruction on all Traitors :* They insisted to have *Ivan Nariskin* delivered up to them. *Fæder Petrowitz*, a young Lord, whose Father was much beloved among the *Strelitzers*, endeavouring to get into the Church, some of the Mutineers, who only saw his Back, cryed out : *There is Ivan Nariskin, take hold of him ;* he surprized and not able to speak, was dragged to the Stair-case, flung down, killed, and carried to the Dunghill, where the *Strelitzers* saw that they had killed the wrong Man ; they ordered some of their Comrades to carry the mangled Carcase to his Father's House, who being indisposed, was not present at the Council, and to desire him to excuse them for what had happened. The Father, shocked at the horrid Sight, said no more, but *Boskio Wola*, i. e. *God's Will must be done* ; and before they left his House, he was obliged to treat them with Beer and Brandy. *Rodomonosky*, late Field-Marshal, was the next that fell into their Hands, who was served like the rest, and flung among the dead Carcases. Hereupon the Evening advanced, and with it *Dolgoruky*, Father to the unhappy Youth, that fell a first sacrifice to their Fury, concluded the doleful Tragedy of that Day. This Lord stepping into his Coach, not thinking that they had any Design upon his Life, a Party of the *Strelitzers* surrounded his Coach, and conducted him home ; they excused themselves, saying, that they had no Design to kill his Son, but his speaking to them in harsh Terms against their righteous Cause, and his joining with *Artemon* to persuade them to desist, it had been done in Passion, and they begged his Pardon. *Dolgoruky* dared not speak one Word against their Proceedings, and only said, *God's Will must be done*. He then treated them with Beer and Brandy,

as

ENTERTAINMENT. 141

as much as they could drink. Having had sufficient, they bowed their Heads before their Benefactor, and took their Leave. Before they were all departed, the Lady *Dolgoruky*, Mother to the Murdered *Dolgoruky*, together with the Daughter, Wife to the deceased, came in, wringing their Hands, crying and lamenting, the One the Loss of a Son, the Other the Loss of a Husband. The old Gentleman, to comfort them, spoke to his Daughter: *Cry not*, said he, *tho' my Son is dead, his Sons are still living*. Which one of the *Strelitzers*, who was yet behind, hearing, called the rest back: *Brothers*, said he to them, *be threats so and so*: Whereupon, without any more ado, they fell upon him, like ravenous Wolves, dragged him along by his Legs, and murdered him in a miserable Manner, not content with this, they cut off his Hands and Legs, and flung the Carcase into the Canal. This happened late at Night.

About half the Number of the *Strelitzers* remained in the Castle, the rest were divided to guard the City Gates; some were searching for those who still remained under the Black List; they went to all the Houses in the Neighbourhood where they lived, touched nothing, and particularly made a strict Enquiry all Night long, after a Doctor of Physick, one *Daniel van Garden*, who had been a *Jew*, but having first embraced the *Lutheran* Persuasion, he at last professed himself of the Church of *Russia*; they likewise wanted his Son, and this, for no other Reason, but that they both had attended the late Czar in his Illness as Physicians. They concluded from thence, that they had been the Cause of his Death. The House of the Doctor's Partner, *Gutmenssch*, who was his next Neighbour, was narrowly searched, but not finding the Doctor, they left the Man for that Time unmolested; but when the *Strelitzers* returned again in the Afternoon, he was much terrified, thinking they were come to fetch him: He endeavoured therefore to hide himself under the Roof of the House; but when the *Strelitzers* found him there, they took him

him from thence, telling him, as he was Doctor *Daniel's* Partner, he knew where he was, and they would keep him in his Room, 'till he was found; the Doctor's Wife was also taken up and confined, with Menaces, that in case the Doctor was not found, both she and *Gutmensch* should be put to Death.

On *Tuesday* all the *Strelitzers* assembled at the Castle, except those only who watched the City-Gates; some of the most impudent broke into the Czar's Apartments by Force, searching for the *Nariskins*, but found none. The *Strelitzers* had that Night taken three of those that were in the List. One among them was a Colonel of their own; they had hid themselves in their own Houses; but being brought to the Castle among the *Strelitz* Guard, up the grand Stair-case, they were flung down from thence, and caught by those below, upon Halberts and Pikes; then they were cut and mangled with Sabres, stripped, and flung upon a Dunghill, as they had served the rest: This Massacre being over, News was brought, that the Son of Doctor *Daniel* was found, a Youth of 22 Years of age; he was brought to the Castle Stair-case, and being asked where his Father was, he answered that he knew not; whereupon they flung him Head-long down the Stair-case; they killed, stripped him, and dragged his naked Body to the Market.

Next *John Gutmensch* was brought before these Miscreants, because he had assisted Doctor *Daniel* in the preparing of the Medicines for the late Czar, and the Doctor not being found, they flung him down the Stair-case, and served him like the rest. They were now going to act the same Cruelty on the Doctor's Wife, had not the Czarina Dowager interceded for her Life; and this was granted the sooner, when a Noise was heard, that one of the *Nariskins* was taken: He was a Youth of 20 Years of Age, and being brought up Stairs, he was immediately dispatched. The next was a Colonel of their's; he was dragged from behind the Altar in the Church, where he had hid himself, and underwent the same Fate, together with several Clerks of the Chancery. They were all
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ENTERTAINMENT. 143

of them stripped, and dragged to the Market among the rest. In the mean Time, strict Search was made in the City for Doctor *Daniel* and *Ivan Nariskin*; as for the Father of that young Lord, he had, upon the Intercession of the Czarina-Dowager, who was his Daughter, his Life spared, but was obliged to go into the Convent, where he was immediately conveyed in a Waggon. His three youngest Sons were also, on her pleading for them, saved, but they were sent far up the Country, each a different Road.

The next Morning, being the 17th of *May*, News was brought that Dr. *Daniel* was about two Miles from the City, where he was apprehended in a ragged Coat, begging Alms, being almost starved to Death for want of Nourishment. This News created a great Joy among the *Strelitzers*: They directly sent a Detachment to fetch him; they brought him in the Disguise of a Beggar, to the Castle, with a Budget at his Side, and Shoes made of the Bark of a Tree on his Feet. The Princess, together with the Czarina-Dowager, came out, and begged for God's Sake to spare the Life of the Doctor, he being intirely innocent, protesting, that what Medicines were given to the late Czar, he had always tasted first, and the same they had done themselves. But all was in vain; they not only charged him with having poisoned the Czar, but insisted also, that he was a Sorcerer; that they had seen at his House, Monsters, Sea-Spiders, Serpents, Skeletons, and other frightful Things; some dried, and others in Glasses, wherewith he practised his Black Art; they all cried with one Accord, *We know you have hid Ivan Nariskin; give him up, and we will cease shedding more Blood; we will deliver those remaining on the List to publick Justice, and withdraw in Peace, provided that what is passed be buried in Oblivion.* All was granted by the Court, but Intercession was made for the Life of the Bajar, *Ivan Nariskin*, and Dr. *Daniel*, but at this they were still more enraged: *We know*, said they, *that Ivan Nariskin is concealed among you; let him be delivered up to us by fair Means, or else we are resolved to make the*
strictest

144 *The WINTER'S EVENING*

strictest Search we can, until we find him, and then it may perhaps prove of worse Consequence : We have spared the Life of the old Nariskin, and of his three youngest Sons, but Ivan Nariskin must die by our Hands. The Czarina Dowager, with Tears in her Eyes, besought those Brutes to have a little Patience. She then went in, and prevailed with one of the Bishops to expose to the enraged Multitude the Picture of the Virgin *Mary*, and to intercede for her Brother. Whereupon both the Empress, the Princess *Sophia*, together with the Bishop, came out, and on their Knees begged them to spare the Life of *Ivan Nariskin* ; he was then present, though hid by the Bishop, and the Picture of the Virgin *Mary* ; but all in vain. A *Strelitz* void of all Humanity and Shame, espied the unfortunate young Lord ; he rushed in among them, took hold of his Hair, and pulled him by Force from his Protectors ; they carried him and the Doctor to the Torture ; where *Ivan Nariskin* being first put to the Rack, he uttered not one Word, but set his Teeth in the Agony he was in ; whereupon he was dragged to the Market-Place, where he was instantly cut to Pieces, his Head, and Hands, and Feet were stuck upon Pikes, and carried about the Streets. Dr. *Daniel* was likewise put to the Rack, the Torture of which made him Confess Things he might never have thought of before. He prayed that they would respite their Proceedings with him in that Manner for three Days, and he would impeach many of those who had deserved Death more than himself. The *Strelitzers* wrote down every Thing the Doctor confessed, but whether they did not credit what he said, or that they were tired with their barbarous Proceedings, they tore the List in Pieces, and ended this Tragedy with dispatching him. The Rest that were upon the List were delivered up to publick Justice, after they had received a Promise in Writing, under the Czar's Hand, that they should be executed by the common Hangman as soon as taken ; and that none of them should suffer for what had passed on that Account.

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ENTERTAINMENT. 145

All the Time of this Rebellion, the *Strelitzers* kept a strict Order among themselves, and punished any one of their Fraternity with Death, that was found guilty of the least Theft. Whilst they were murdering the Persons above-mentioned, all the Drums, which amounted to 200, were beat, the Alarm-Bell rung, and such a hideous Noise was made by those Rebels, as put all the City under the most dreadful Apprehensions.

It was about Noon when Dr. *Daniel* was massacred; after which the *Strelitzers* marched from the Market-place to the Castle, and there declared, that they were satisfied; that they delivered the rest of the Traitors on the List to publick Justice. They were resolved to live and die for his Majesty, both the Empresses, and the Prince. The eldest Prince, *Ivan Alexowitz*, then desired, that he, on Account of his ill State of Health, might be excused from taking upon him the Government, and that he willingly resigned his Right and Crown to his younger Brother, *Peter Alexowitz*. Whereupon all the *Strelitzers* cried out, *Long live Czar Peter Alexowitz!* This Prince, interceding in Behalf of the Empress Dowager, she was allowed to continue with her Son, *Ivan Alexowitz*, and the Sentence they had pronounced against her, of being shut up in a Nunnery, was revoked. Prince *Peter* was declared Czar, to govern, in Conjunction with his elder Brother *Ivan*, so that at that Time there were two Czars on the *Russian* Throne, of which no Precedent could be traced before in the *Russian* Annals. Whatever the *Strelitzers* had transacted, they pretended it was done in the Name of the Czar *Ivan Alexowitz*; that they were obliged to act in that Manner for their own and the publick Preservation; that they had discovered a Plot against themselves, which was to have been executed by the Servants of the *Bajars*, whose Number was far superior to theirs; and that then the whole City would have been in Danger of being destroyed by Fire and Sword. And in order to ingratiate themselves into the *Bajars* Servants Favour,

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they

they went to the Chancery, where are registered as Bondsmen, all those that enter into Service ; they tore all the Writings, by which they are bound to their Masters, and thereby retrieved their Liberty.

May the 17th, it was proclaimed, that every one might fetch their Dead, and bury them, which was done accordingly ; and thus this bloody tragical Scene ended.

C H A P. XI.

The Conspiracy of the Spaniards against the Republick of Venice.

THE INTRODUCTION.

AMONG all human undertakings none is so great as that of conspiracies. Courage, prudence, and fidelity, which are equally requir'd in all who are concern'd in them, are qualities possess'd by few ; and it is still more rare, to find them all united in the same person. As a Man often flatters himself that he is lov'd better than he really is, especially if he deserves it, and has taken pains to make himself so, some heads of a conspiracy rely intirely on the affection their accomplices have for them ; but there are few friendships which are stronger than the fear of death. If this affection is violent, it prevents the judgment on unexpected occasions, and is not attended with a necessary discretion ; for most people who wish for a thing vehemently, shew it too plainly. And if a conspirator has so much understanding that there is no fear of his indiscretion, he is always more dispassionate and cool in affection : He knows too well the extent and probability of the danger to which he is expos'd, and the various measures he can take to disengage himself ; he sees, in a word, that the advantages he can reap from such an enterprize are doubtful, and that if he discovers it to them against whom it is form'd, his reward is certain. The capacity also of most men is only founded on their experience,

perience, and they seldom reason right in the first affair which passes thro' their hands. The wisest are they who improve by the faults they commit, and who gain light, and draw proper consequences to govern themselves better for the time to come. But as there is no comparison either for the danger or the difficulty, between a conspiracy and any other affair; whatever experience a man may have in all other matters, it can supply him with no light in this, nor any assur'd consequences for his good conduct. In order to avoid committing a considerable fault in a conspiracy, it is necessary that a man should have been in one already, but it is very rarely that any one person is engag'd in two while he lives. If the first succeeds, the advantages he receives by it generally put him in a condition above having an occasion to hazard himself in a second: if it does not succeed, he perishes; or if he makes his escape, it seldom happens that he is willing to run the same risque again. To these inconveniencies must be added, that let our hatred be ever so great against tyrants, a man always loves himself more than he hates another; that it is not enough that conspirators are faithful, unless they are all mutually persuaded of each other's fidelity; that the head of the conspiracy ought to have a regard to all the panick fears, and the most ridiculous imaginations which may seize them, as well as to the most solid difficulties which occur in his enterprize; because the first, as well as the last, are capable of ruining it; that a word spoken on another subject, and a gesture without design, are able to make them believe they are betray'd, and so precipitate the execution; that a single circumstance of time or place, which in truth is of no importance, is sufficient sometimes to frighten them, merely because it was not foreseen; that according to the natural temper of men, they always fancy their secret is guess'd, and find reasons to believe they are discover'd, in all that is said or done before them; and he who knows he is guilty, applies every thing to himself. That if all these difficulties are almost insuperable in conspiracies which are fram'd only

for the death of a single person, what will they be in those which attack a great number at once, which aim at the usurpation of a town, or of a whole state, and which for that reason require a larger space of time, and more hands to execute them? these considerations have always made me look upon this kind of enterprises, as the most moral and most instructive parts of history; and have also induced me to communicate to the publick, the conspiracy which an ambassador of Spain at Venice had contriv'd against that republick about sixty five years ago. I know not whether my judgment is deceiv'd by the fondness I have for the subject I have undertaken, but I ingenuously confess, I think, never was better seen the force of prudence in the affairs of the world, and the power of chance; the extent and the bounds of the mind of man, its greatest elevation, and its most secret weaknesses; the infinite particulars which must be regarded to govern; the difference between the good subtilty, and the bad, and between ability and cunning; and if malice is never more odious, than when it makes an abuse of the most excellent things, the reader will undoubtedly conceive a horror at it from this history, when he shall see the noblest qualifications employ'd to so abominable an end: thus one of the Grecian sages seeing a criminal maintain a falsehood in the midst of torments with a wonderful constancy, could not forbear crying out, 'Thou wretch, who employ'st so good a thing to so bad a use!'

THE difference between Paul the Vth and the republick of Venice having been terminated by the mediation of France, with the honour due to the Holy See, and the glory which the Venetians deserv'd, there were only the Spaniards who had any reason to complain of it. As they had declar'd in favour of the Pope, and had offer'd him to compel the Venetians to submit by force of arms, they were inrag'd that he had treated without their participation. But having penetrated into the secret of the agreement, they found they had no cause to be offended with the Pope,
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and that the contempt which was put upon them in this affair proceeded from the Republick. It was the senate which had in some measure excluded them from the mediation, upon pretence that after having shewn so much partiality, they could not be admitted as arbitrators. How great soever their resentment was for this injury, they did not express it while Henry the fourth was living, whose obligations to the Venetians were too well known, and the care he had taken of their interest in this dispute with the court of Rome. But his death having set the Spaniards at liberty, they wanted now nothing but a fair handle to put things in motion.

A company of pyrates, called the *Uscoques*, had settled in the territories which the house of Austria possesses on the Adriatick sea, and which are contiguous to the Venetians. These robbers having committed infinite depredations on the subjects of the Republick, were protected by the Arch-Duke Ferdinand de Gnetz, then sovereign of that country, and afterwards Emperor. He was a very religious Prince; but his ministers sharing the booty with the *Uscoques*, and being devoted to the court of Spain, embraced this opportunity to be reveng'd on the Venetians. The Emperor Mathias, mov'd with the just complaints of the Republick, made up this difference at Vienna in Feb. 1612; but this accommodation was so ill observ'd on the part of the Arch-Duke, that there was a necessity of coming to an open war, in which he did not gain all the advantages which the Spaniards expected. The Venetians by their wise conduct easily repair'd the losses they had sustain'd in some slight engagements; and as they had nothing to fear from the Turks, they were better able to support this war than the Arch-Duke. This prince was press'd by the Emperor to make a peace, because the Grand Signior threaten'd Hungary, and he had occasion to lay up considerable sums to facilitate his election to the kingdom of Bohemia, which was executed soon after. The Spaniards were willing to supply him with means to continue the war; but Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, with

with whom they were embroil'd at the same time, did not suffer them to divide their forces; and as that duke receiv'd large succours in money from the republick, they could never disunite him from it.

The council of Spain was mightily incens'd to find they had to do with the Venetians every where. The easy and peaceable genius of King Philip the third, and of the duke of Lerma his favourite, gave them no prospect of extricating themselves out of this embarrassment; but a minister they had in Italy, who was not so cool and moderate, undertook to extricate them. It was Don Alphonso de la Cueva, marquis of Bedmar, ambassador in ordinary at Venice, one of the strongest genius's and most dangerous spirits that Spain ever produced. It appears by the writings he left, that he was master of every thing in the ancient and modern historians, which could form an extraordinary man; he compar'd the things they related with those which were in agitation in his own time; and exactly marked the differences and resemblances of affairs, and what an alteration the circumstances in which they agreed, produced in those in which they differ'd. He usually form'd a judgment of the issue of an enterprise, as soon as he knew the plan and the foundation of it. If he found by the event that he had mistaken, he traced back his error to its source, and endeavour'd to discover what had deceiv'd him. By this application and study he had comprehended which are the sure ways, the true means, and the chief circumstances which presage good success in great designs, and make them always answer expectation. This continual practice of reading, meditating and observing the affairs of the world had rais'd him to so high a pitch of sagacity, that his conjectures on the future generally passed in the council of Spain for prophecies. This profound knowledge of the nature of important affairs was accompany'd with very singular talents for the management of them; as a facility of speaking and writing inexpressibly agreeable; a wonderful instinct to know men; an air always gay and open, which had more fire than gravity, and was so remote.

remote from dissimulation as to come up almost to simplicity and nature; a humour free and complaisant, and by so much the more impenetrable, as every body thought they penetrated into it. His deportment was tender, insinuating and flattering, which worm'd out the secrets of the hearts which were hardest to open; and there were all the appearances of an entire freedom of mind, in the midst of the most anxious agitations.

The ambassadors of Spain at that time generally commanded the courts to which they were sent, and the marquis of Bedmar had been chosen for Venice, in the year 1607, as for the most difficult of the foreign employments, and in which no assistance is to be had from women, fryars, or favourites. The council of Spain was so satisfy'd with him, that whatever occasion there was for him in other places, they could not resolve even after six years residence to recall him. This long continuance there gave him time to study the principles of that government, to find out its secret springs, and to discover its strength and its weakness, its advantages and defects. As he saw that the arch-duke would be oblig'd to make peace, which must needs be shameful to Spain, because the wrong lay at their door, he resolv'd to undertake something in order to prevent it. He consider'd that in the condition Venice was then in, it was not impossible to become master of it, by the help of the intelligences he had there, and of the forces which he could procure. Their troops had drain'd it of arms, and still more of men capable of bearing them. As the fleet had never made so fine an appearance, the senate never thought itself so formidable, nor was ever less apprehensive. However this invincible fleet could not venture to quit the coast of Istria, which was the seat of the war; and the land-army was at as great a distance, and there was nothing at Venice to oppose a descent from the Spanish fleet.

To render this descent the more certain, the marquis de Bedmar was for possessing himself of the principal posts, as the place of St. Mark, and the Arse-

nal: and because it would be difficult to do this while the town was in a perfect tranquillity, he thought it proper to set fire at the same time to all those places of the town, which would catch the quickest, and were of the greatest importance to succour. He would not immediately write into Spain about it, as knowing princes do not care to explain themselves on affairs of such a nature, till they are so far advanced, that there is nothing wanting to put them in execution, but an assurance of approbation in case they succeed. He only signify'd to the duke of Usseda, principal secretary of state, that seeing the shame the house of Austria receiv'd from the war in the Friouli by the insolent conduct of the Venetians, and that all the ways of accommodation which had been taken at Vienna and elsewhere were ignominious; he look'd upon himself to be in that condition, in which nature and policy oblige a faithful subject to have a recourse to extraordinary means, to preserve his prince and country from an infamy which is otherwise inevitable; that this care belong'd to him in particular, by reason of the employment he sustain'd, in which having constantly before his eyes the springs of the evil which was to be redress'd, no body could judge better than himself, what remedy ought to be apply'd; and that he would endeavour to acquit himself of that duty, in a manner as should be worthy of the zeal he had for the grandeur of his matter.

The Duke of Usseda, who knew him perfectly, immediately imagined this conceal'd some Project equally important and dangerous; but as prudent Men do not appear to understand Things of this Kind, till they are constrain'd to it, he did not communicate his suspicion to the first Minister, and answered the Marquis de Bedmar in general Terms, commending his Zeal, and referring the rest to his usual Discretion. The Marquis, who expected no other return, was not surprized at so cool a reply, and thought now of nothing but to contrive his Design, so as to be sure of being avowed.

There

There never was a Monarchy in the World so absolute, as is the Authority with which the Senate of Venice governs that Republick. They make an infinite Difference even in the minutest Things between the nobles and those who are not such: In all the Countries which depend on the State, the Nobles alone are capable of commanding: The greatest lords, and the prime Magistrates of those Countries are in subjection to them, rather as to Sovereigns than Governors; and if the Republick ever gives some of the first Posts in its Armies to Strangers, it is always on such Conditions as oblige them to follow the Opinion of the Venetian Generalissimo, and in reality leave them only an executive Power. As there is not a more plausible Pretence to burden the People than that of War, that of the Uscoques afforded a fine Opportunity to the Nobles, who had the Management of it, to enrich themselves. It was excessively expensive. Besides the Money which was sent to Piedmont, there was a Necessity at last to raise in a Manner a third Army in Lombardy against the Governor of Milan, who was perpetually threatening to make a Diversion in Favour of the Arch-Duke. The Justice and Right of the Republick made the Commanders more bold to invent new Oppressions, but did not however render the People more patient to bear them; and they rose so high, that the Marquis de Bedmar might reasonably assure himself, that the Revolution he projected would be as agreeable to the meaner sort of People, as it would be fatal to the Nobles. There were also among the Nobles some who did not love the Government. These were the Partisans of the Court of Rome: They who were most in Number, and were Ambitious and full of Revenge, were incens'd, that the Republick had been govern'd contrary to their Counsels, during the Quarrel they had with that Court: They were disposed to act and suffer any Thing, to wrest the Power out of the Hands of those who held it; and would have been pleased with the Misfortunes of the State, as the Effects of a Conduct

which they had not approved. Others, who were more weak and shallow, were for being more Catholic than the Pope himself. As he had abated of his Pretensions in the Accommodation, they imagined he had been obliged to it out of Policy, and that if a mental Reservation could take Place in that Affair, it was to be fear'd the Excommunication subsisted as before, in his Holiness's Intention. Of this Number were several Senators, as poor in their Fortunes as in their Minds, who became very serviceable to the Designs of the Marquis de Bedmar, after he had persuaded them by the powerful Conviction of doing them Kindnesses, that since that Affair had happened, it was impossible to be a Venetian with a safe Conscience.

Notwithstanding the severe Prohibitions which are made to the Nobles to have no Correspondence with Strangers, he had found the Means to establish a strict Intelligence with those of them who were the most necessitous, and the most dissatisfied. If they had any near Relations in the Monasteries, a Mistress, or trusty Ecclesiastic, he purchased the Acquaintance of these necessary People at any Price, and made them Presents, which were of great Value, tho' generally they were only Curiosities of foreign Countries. These Liberalities which were dispensed, as it seemed, out of mere Generosity, made those who received them imagine they might draw more considerable ones from the Marquis. In View of this they fully satisfy'd his Curiosity concerning all those Things he had a mind to be informed of by them, and even took Care to apprise themselves of such as they were not sufficiently acquainted with, to answer his Questions; and his Acknowledgments exceeding their expectation, they had no rest till they had engaged their Patrons in this Commerce.

These Persons it is likely might be pushed on by Necessity, and that the Nobles, to whom they belonged, could not behold without Envy, that they who intirely depended on them, should become richer than themselves, by Presents which were made them only

on their account : But be it as it will, from that Time, there was not any deliberation in the Senate which could be kept secret from the Ambassador of Spain : He was advertis'd of all the Resolutions which were taken there ; and the Generals of the Arch-Duke knew those which related to the War, before the Officers of the Republick had Orders to execute them. With all this Intelligence the Ambassador had occasion for a considerable Number of military Men to succeed in his Enterprize ; but as the Spaniards had a powerful army in Lombardy, he was in no fear of this ; provided he had a governor of Milan capable of entering into his designs. The marquis of Inojosa ; who was then governor, was too closely united to the duke of Savoy to hearken to them. He had lately signed the treaty of Ast, of which France and the Venetians had been the mediators. The ambassador, who knew this negotiation would not be approv'd in Spain, writ thither to have him recall'd, and solicited D. Pedro de Toledo, marquis of Villa Franca, his intimate friend, to make interest for the government of Milan. Don Pedro had orders to depart immediately, and succeed Inojosa, about the latter end of the year 1615, and as soon as he arrived at Milan, gave advice of it at Venice by the marquis de Lare. The ambassador communicated his project to this marquis after the manner he judg'd most proper to make it be accepted, and chiefly recommended to him to know whether the new governor could let him have fifteen hundred men of his best troops upon occasion. Don Pedro charm'd with the greatness of the undertaking, resolv'd to second it as much as lay in his power, without exposing himself to certain ruin in case it miscarry'd. He dispatch'd the marquis de Lare a second time to Venice, to assure the ambassador of it : but pray'd him at the same time to consider it was impossible to send the body of men he desir'd, without chusing them out very curiously ; and that if they were lost, he should be inexcusable for having sacrific'd the bravest soldiers in his army. That he would, however, give him as
many

many as he could, and would chuse them so well, that he would answer for them as for himself.

Nothing was of greater moment to the ambassador's purpose than to hinder an accommodation of any kind. In this view he oblig'd the marquis de Lare to make very unreasonable proposals of peace to the senate from the governor of Milan. The senate answer'd them with indignation, and would not treat upon them. Don Pedro omitted nothing likewise on his part, to exasperate things still more. The duke of Mantua, who was very little dispos'd to grant a pardon to his rebellious subjects, as he had promis'd by the treaty of Ast, was encourag'd to be obstinate on that article, and to continue the executions which he had begun against them. Proposals were also made to the Duke of Savoy for the conclusion of the same treaty, which they knew very well he would not accept; and they excus'd themselves for not disarming their troops after him, as they ought to have done, under the pretence of the war in Frioul, in which the Spaniards could no longer with honour avoid being concern'd. The Venetian army had already pass'd the Lizonzo, and besieg'd Gradisca, the capital of the estates of the Arch-Duke. The council of Spain which had appear'd neuter till then, seeing the Venetians were for dispossessing that Prince intirely, threaten'd to declare it self. At this time an end was put to the misunderstanding which had been in the house of Austria, between the branch of Spain and that of Germany, since the difference betwixt the son and the brother of Charles the fifth about the succession of the empire; the interest the Spaniards took in this war, was the first token of this reconciliation. Don Pedro caus'd colonel Gambalotta to advance near Crema with some troops, and order'd twenty four pieces of battery to be mounted at Pavia, which, as he gave out, were in a little time to accompany a body of eight thousand men commanded by Don Sancho de Luna. On the other part, the Vice-Roy of Naples, who was cruising on the Mediterranean with the Spanish fleet, threaten'd to

to attack the Duke of Savoy at Villa Franca. He shut up the passage to all the succours which were coming by sea to the Republick, and was every day preparing to enter the Gulph, in order to keep the Venetian fleet in awe.

The Venetian ministers having loudly declaim'd in all the courts against the violence of this procedure, the marquis de Bedmar undertook to justify it : he thought it would be of service to his design to overthrow the foundation of the high esteem all Europe had for so many ages entertain'd for this Republick, as the most antient of all states, and the most free. This freedom had lately been prov'd, and carry'd higher than ever, on occasion of the difference with the Pope, by several writings which had hitherto pass'd for invincible, tho' the contrary party had not wanted able pens to answer them. The ambassador having examin'd them afresh, refuted in a few chapters the numerous volumes of the Venetian authors, without doing any one of them the honour to name him. And as in matters of this nature there is no assertion which a learned man may not render plausible ; under pretence of maintaining the Emperor's right over Venice, he shew'd that the independence of this Republick was only a chimera, as well as its sovereignty on the sea. As it was not necessary for his purpose to be known for the author of this libel, he caus'd it to be publish'd so artfully, that it was never discover'd during his life that he had any hand in it, it seems strange that he was not suspected of it ; but the Venetians, it is likely, did not fathom him. His lively and vehement behaviour, which he always preserv'd, did not permit them to think that a man of so impetuous a character could be the author of a state-satire, which was compos'd with most refin'd delicacy. Equity and sincerity seem'd to reign thro' the whole, and the declamations against the attempts of the Venetians which were mingled in it, were restrain'd within the terms of a seeming moderation, which alone was sufficient to render them plausible.

plausible. This work, which had for title * *Squittinio della Liberta Veneta*, made a great noise. In the ignorance they were under of the author, the suspicion fell naturally on the court of Rome, by reason of the former writings. The learned among the senate believ'd every body perceiv'd the strength of it as well as they: they were more frighten'd at it than they would have been at the loss of a battle; and father Paul had orders to examine it. This man, who had play'd with the other writers of that side, declar'd this last ought not to be answer'd, because there was no doing it without unfolding certain things which it was more prudent to leave involv'd in the darkness of antiquity: but however if the senate judg'd it concern'd the dignity of the Republick to resent this injury, he would undertake to put the court of Rome to so great a difficulty to defend it self, that it should no longer think of being the aggressor. This advice which was follow'd in the first heat of their resentment, gave father Paul the pleasure of publishing his beloved history of the council of Trent, which would not have been publish'd while he liv'd had it not been for this opportunity.

In the mean time the campaign of the year 1616 having pass'd without any considerable advantage on either side, the Duke of Savoy, and the Venetians, who were unwilling to expose the honour they had already gain'd to the hazard of a second, empower'd Gritti, the Venetian ambassador at Madrid, to renew the negotiation. The Spaniards being enrag'd at the resistance they had found, made such unreasonable proposals, that they came to nothing. The blockade of Gradisca continu'd, and they fought during the winter-season, and the armies took the field in the spring, with an ardor which promis'd greater successes than those of the preceding year. The truce which Holland had made having rendered the major part of their troops unnecessary, and reduced the soldiers of fortune, as well French as Germans,

* An enquiry into the liberty of Venice.

to seek for employment elsewhere; the Counts of Nassau and Lievestein brought eight thousand men, Hollanders or Walloons, to the service of the Republick. The Spaniards complained loudly to the Pope, about the Venetians exposing Italy to the infection of heresy, by introducing into it these soldiers: but the Venetian ambassador convinced him, it was not so much the interest of religion which moved the Spaniards to speak thus, as the grief they had to see two great Republicks unite their forces against them. The marquis de Bedmar would have been embarrass'd, if the Pope had oblig'd the Venetians to dismiss those hereticks. For as soldiers have generally their own advantage alone in view, when they serve a foreign Prince, he hop'd to engage the leaders of those mercenary troops in his project by means of money, and the expectation of the plunder of Venice. He cast his eye, for the negotiation of this affair, on an old French gentleman, nam'd Nicholas Renault, a man of knowledge and good sense, who had taken refuge at Venice on some occasion which was never discover'd. The marquis had seen him long since at the French ambassador's, where he liv'd. In some conversations which they happen'd to have together, Renault found the marquis to be a man of as great ability as he was reported; and the marquis who was glad to have a friend of his character at the ambassador's of France, had contracted a strict union with Renault. Tho' this man was extremely poor, he had a higher value for virtue than for riches; but was sonder of glory than of virtue; and for want of innocent means to obtain this glory, there were none so criminal which he was not capable of embracing. He had learn'd in the writings of the ancients that unusual indifference for life or death, which is the first foundation of all extraordinary designs; and was continually envying those celebrated times in which the merit of private persons dispos'd the destiny of states, and all who had merit wanted not the means nor opportunities to make it appear. The marquis de Bedmar, who study'd him thro'ly, and who had occasion
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for a man to whom he could intirely trust the management of his enterprize, told him, when he imparted it to him, that he had depended on him from the very first moment he thought of it.

Renault esteem'd himself more oblig'd by this assurance, than he would have been by all the commendations imaginable. The advanced age in which he was, did not make him decline the undertaking. The less time he had to live, the less he had to risque: he concluded he could not better employ the melancholy years he had remaining, than in hazarding them to render his name immortal. The marquis gave him the bills of exchange, and letters of credit, which were necessary to enable him to treat with the Dutch commanders; and charg'd him not to unfold the design, but only to represent, that matters being so exasperated as they were between the Republick and the house of Austria, the Spanish ambassador at Venice foresaw a certain conjuncture, which might expose his person to the fury of the people of that city, and desired for his own safety to secure himself a considerable number of faithful and resolute friends. The pretence was frivolous, but the thinnest vail is of great moment in affairs of this kind: it matters not much that it be known there is some mystery at bottom, provided it be not unravel'd. By this he hop'd to debauch the flower of the land-army of the Venetians; and that the rest would be left so weak, that it would be easy for Don Pedro to defeat them on the way, if they were sent for to Venice to oppose the conspirators. The sea-forces were far more to be dreaded. They had been alway enur'd to conquer, and could be call'd home more easily. Most of them were natural subjects of the Republick; and there was no room to doubt, but at the first breaking out of the conspiracy, the navy would make to Venice. To hope that the Spanish fleet should defeat it, was what was a very uncertain thing; and it was not prudent to trust to the hazard of a battel, the success of an enterprize which was otherwise hazardous enough; it was necessary therefore to find out some means to
put

put the fleet into a condition incapable of serving. The ambassador, who had not so much experience in maritime affairs as the Vice-Roy of Naples, who commanded the sea-forces of Spain, thought himself obliged to consult him on the subject. This Vice-Roy, who was to be the principal actor of the tragedy which the ambassador was composing, was the duke of Ossuna, so famous for his gallantries, who was as bold and enterprising as Don Pedro, and the marquis de Bedmar. This resemblance of tempers had establish'd a strict correspondence between these three ministers. Don Pedro and the duke of Ossuna were not great in the cabinet, and the duke was even sometimes subject to caprices, which border'd upon extravagance; but the deference they both paid to the marquis de Bedmar stood them instead of the ability which they wanted.

The profits which arise from piracy to those who practise it under some powerful protection, had drawn to the court of the Vice-Roy of Naples all the notorious pirates on the Mediterranean. The Vice-Roy, who had a fertile brain for extraordinary designs, and was rather prodigal than avaritious, did not support them so much for the share they gave him of their booty, as to have always near him a considerable number of people ready to attempt any thing. He was not contented to receive them when they apply'd to him; but if he heard of any one of uncommon merit among them, he sought after him, and did him so many kindnesses, that he infallibly made him his own. He had acted thus toward one who was known by the name of captain James Peter, a Norman by birth, and so excellent in his trade, that all the rest glory'd to have learn'd it from him. The mind of this man had nothing in it of the barbarity of that sort of life; but having got wherewith to live handsomely, he resolv'd to leave it off, tho' he was then in the flower of his age, and chose the dominions of the duke of Savoy for his retreat. This Prince who was fond of all extraordinary talents, and who understood their value so much the better, as nature had
given

given him a liberal portion of them, knowing this pyrate by reputation to be one of the bravest men in the world, allow'd him to settle at Nice. All maritime people who frequented that coast, soldiers, officers, or sailors, duly made their court to the captain; his counsels were oracles to them: he was sovereign arbitrator of their differences; and they thought they could never sufficiently admire a man who had quitted a profession in which he was so well skill'd, and which was the hardest of any to lay down. Of this number was one Vincent Robert of Marseilles; who having landed in Sicily, while the Duke of Ossuna was Vice-Roy there, receiv'd so good usage, that he engag'd in his service. The Duke understanding this Robert was a comrade of the captain, complain'd in a familiar manner to him, of his friend's having prefer'd the states of the Duke of Savoy to his government, for his retreat. He join'd to these complaints extraordinary tokens of the esteem he had for the captain's courage and experience in sea-affairs, and concluded with assurances to be wanting in nothing that depended on him, to invite to his court a man of so singular a merit. Robert took upon him this negotiation with joy, and it was supported by such great advances on the part of the Vice-Roy, that the captain was forced to yield, and to go and settle in Sicily with his wife and children. As he had not yet lost sight of the sea, he was not quite cur'd of the passion he had for it. The Vice-Roy had lately built such fine galleons, and some Turkish Caravans were on the road with such weak convoys, that the captain could not resist this temptation; and he had no reason to repent it; for he got an incredible booty; and the Duke of Ossuna, who, from that moment, liv'd with him as with a brother, let him keep the greatest part of it, on condition he should follow him to Naples, of which he was appointed governor by the King; and that he should make a voyage to Provence, and try to inveigle those he knew to be the best seamen on that coast.

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The captain brought away enow to arm five large vessels which belong'd to the Vice-Roy in particular, and over which he had an absolute authority. With this small fleet he plunder'd with impunity all the islands and coasts of the Levant, and concluded his first campaign with a great fight, in which he either took or sunk a numerous squadron of Turkish gallies. It was at this time that the Marquis of Bedmar communicated his design to the Duke of Ossuna, being assur'd he should not have much difficulty to engage him in it.

The Duke, who coveted the sovereignty of those seas, wish'd for nothing more ardently than to ruin the Venetians, who alone could dispute it with him, and who were not so easy to be beaten as the Turks. He open'd his mind to the captain, and propos'd to him the difficulties which occur'd; the captain did not think them insurmountable; and after several days of private conference, he left Naples on the sudden, and in an attire which denoted the utmost precipitation and fright. The Vice-Roy sent people after him, every way but that which he had taken, with orders to seize him dead or alive: his wife and children were imprison'd, and kept from that day in a condition in appearance very miserable; all his goods were confiscated, and the Duke's anger broke out with so much fury, that all Naples was surpriz'd at it, tho' his passionate temper had been known for a long time. As the captain did not seem less active than the Vice-Roy, their misunderstanding was easily credited; and it was believ'd he had been forming something against Spain, or against the Duke's interest, and his particular designs. In the mean time he had recourse to his first Asylum. The Duke of Savoy was at open war with the Spaniards, and was known to be the most generous Prince in the world. Tho' he had express'd some disgust when the captain had left his territories to remove to Sicily, yet the impostor did not boggle to go and fling himself at his feet; he told him of several sham designs of the Vice-Roy against the Republick of Venice, which were horrible even to think of.

of, but had nothing in common with the true one; and that believing he could not engage in it with honour, he was contriving how to make his escape from Naples with his goods and family: but hearing the Vice-Roy had discover'd his resolution, he had been obliged to fly in that wretched habit, to save himself from his rage, and to abandon all he had most dear in the world, to the discretion of the most cruel of men.

The Duke of Savoy was touch'd with pity at this sad relation, and receiv'd him with open arms. He told the pirate that his interests being inseparably link'd to those of the Republick, he took upon himself to reward him for the service he should do to the common cause, in case the Venetians did not recompence him; adding, that it was of the last importance, that the senate should be acquainted from his own mouth of the Designs of the Duke of Ossuna; and after having exhorted him to bear his misfortunes like a man of courage, and equipp'd him with all things, and given him a noble present, he made him set out for Venice with letters of credence and recommendation. The Venetians were not less compassionate than the Duke of Savoy. The flight, the tears, the poverty, the despair, the capacity, the achievements, the reputation of the captain, the hopes that he would bring over to their service the great number of stout able men which he had drawn into the service of the Duke of Ossuna; but above all the report he made of the Duke's designs, which he had contriv'd to render as probable as was necessary; all these things spoke so powerfully in his favour, that they immediately gave him the command of a ship. This did not hinder Contrarini, the Republick's ambassador at Rome, from remonstrating by letters, that this man coming from the Vice-Roy, ought always to be distrusted: but fear, which had produced in the minds of the Venetians that credulity, which always attends it, got the better of this prudent advice.

Not long after, the fleet putting to sea, the captain, who knew of what consequence it was, that he should
signalize

signalize himself; made such considerable prizes on the Uscoques, in some commissions he had procur'd to be given him to pursue them, that upon his return from this chase eleven ships more were added to his command. He gave an account of his successes to the Duke of Ossuna, and concluded his letter with these words: 'if these Scaramouches are always as easy of belief as they have been hitherto, I dare assure your Excellency, I shall not lose my time in this country.' He wrote at the same time to all his comrades whom he had left at Naples, to invite them into the service of the Republick. It was no difficult matter for him to seduce them: for upon his escape, the Vice-Roy pretending to suspect them, treated them as ill, as he had us'd them well before: he complain'd violently of the protection the Republick had granted to the captain; and to revenge himself, supported the Uscoques, whom the Venetian arms had driven from their Assylum: under his protection they began to repeat their depredations: they took a large vessel which was coming from Corsou to Venice, and sold the booty of it publicly under his standard: he violated the freedom of the ports; made considerable reprisals, for light grievances; remain'd obstinate against the orders he receiv'd from Spain, to release what he had seiz'd; and publish'd a manifesto, to set forth the reasons of his disobeying them: he sent a great fleet to cruise in the Adriatick sea; and caus'd the prizes it took from the Venetians to be brought into Naples in triumph; in a word, he ruin'd their commerce at the expence even of the Neapolitans, who were concern'd in it; and the farmers of the revenues of the kingdom offering to complain, he threaten'd to hang them.

As there had been no war declar'd between Spain and the Republick, the Venetians could not recover themselves from the astonishment, into which so irregular a conduct had cast them: it was generally imputed to the extravagance of the Duke of Ossuna: but those of the best understanding, who knew that madmen of this kind are very serviceable, when judiciously

diciously employ'd, believ'd the Spaniards made use of the caprices of the Duke, to act all those things which they would neither own, nor maintain. His familiar discourses run wholly upon surprising the ports of Istria belonging to the Republick, upon plundering their islands, and making a descent if possible upon Venice itself. He study'd the plan of it with his courtiers: he caus'd exact maps to be drawn of the adjacent parts; and barks, brigantines, and other small vessels to be built proper for all sorts of channels; tryals to be made of the weight the several depths of water were capable of bearing, and was inventing every day new machines, to lessen the weight of Vessels, and facilitate the motion.

The Venetian resident at Naples gave an exact intelligence of this, to the mortification of the Marquis of Bedmar, who began to repent of being concern'd with so rash a person. But the success deceiv'd his fears: for the Vice-Roy did all these things so publickly, that the Venetians only laugh'd at them: nay, the wisest heads cou'd not believe there was any thing solid under such open proceedings. The Duke continued his preparations as long as he thought fit, without giving the least jealousy; and his indiscretion, which it was expected wou'd ruin the undertaking, promoted it more than all the circumspection of the Marquis of Bedmar. However the Marquis judg'd it proper to hasten the execution, either not to allow the Venetians time to reflect seriously on the matter; or else on the account of the danger to which his person was expos'd every day. The Venetian fleet having offer'd battel once to that of Spain, which refus'd it, and pillag'd the coast of Pozzuolo; the rabble of Venice conceiv'd so insolent a joy at it, that the ambassador and all his family wou'd have been infallibly massacred, if guards had not been sent thither. The same day he had news from the camp before Gradisca, which comforted him for this accident: for Renault sent him word, that he had found the tempers of the troops so happily dispos'd, that he had finish'd his negotiation without loss of time.

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The ambassador order'd him to go to Milan before he return'd.; and Don Pedro receiv'd him with all the careſſes with which great men are uſed to blind the minds of thoſe who ruin themſelves for their ſervice. They agreed, that it was requiſite to ſeize on ſome town, belonging to the Venetians, on the Terra firma, at the ſame time with Venice. That this town would bridle the reſt, and ſerve as a place of arms to the Spaniſh army, which ſhould attack them, and as a barrier to Venice, if it made any motion to ſuccour them. Renault paſſed thro' the moſt conſiderable towns, and made ſome ſtay at Crema, to form a faction there by the intereſt of a French lieutenant named John Berard, and of an Italian captain, and one Alhier of Provence, who don Pedro had already engaged. Theſe three perſons offered to conceal five hundred Spaniards in the town without giving the leaſt ſuſpicion to the Venetian commander, and to get poſſeſſion of it within eight days after. By the examination which Renault made of the thing, upon the ſpot, he judg'd it to be almoſt infallible with that number of men. They needed only to cut the throats of a ſorry garrifon, which had been drawn out of the militia of the country, all the regular troops of the Republic being in the towns of Friouli, or in the armies.

The Duke of Oſſuna had alſo perſuaded the Marquis of Bedmar, that it was neceſſary to have ſome place belonging to the Venetians in the Gulph, which might lend a helping hand to the Uſcoques and the Arch-Duke, and be a retreat to the Spaniſh fleet; if by any accident it was obliged to ſeek for a refuge in that ſea, when it ſhould be engaged there. They made choice for this purpoſe of Maran, a ſtrong place in an Iſland bordering upon Iſtria, and which had a harbour capable of receiving a large fleet. An Italian named Mazza, who had been ſerjeant-major of it during forty years, had almoſt as much authority there as the governor. For a round ſum of money, and an aſſurance of the command of it, he promiſed one of the Duke of Oſſuna's emiſſaries, to kill the governor upon the firſt orders, and afterwards to make himſelf
maſter

master of the place, and hold it in the name of the Spaniards. It was almost as easy to execute this promise as to make it. For the governor, who was the proveditor Lorenzo Thiepolo, lived with him in the highest familiarity; and because the office of proveditor called him frequently to the frontiers in time of war, he trusted the care of the town entirely to the serjeant-major, as being the oldest and most capable officer of the garrison. Affairs being in this condition, the ambassador thought he must now put the last hand to his work. Not but that by waiting longer, he might have added to the measures he had already taken; but delays he knew are pernicious to designs of this nature. It is impossible that all the different means which may contribute to the good success should be ripe at the same time. They first change their face, while the others are preparing; and when a man is once happy enough to be able to join a sufficient number of them together, it is a capital fault to let slip the fatal moment of so precious a conjuncture.

It was of the last importance to the honour of the crown of Spain, that it should not be possible to convict its ambassador of having had a hand in the undertaking, in case it miscarry'd. In this view, he resolv'd not to open himself to any of the conspirators besides Renault and the captain; and even these two did not know one another: they never came to him but when he sent for them; and he always appointed them different times, that they might not meet; because if they should be discover'd, it would be much for his advantage, that they should never have been together. In this apprehension, he wou'd gladly have continued to make them act their several parts without coming to be acquainted; but having consider'd it maturely, he judg'd it was impossible: and despairing in his soul of the success of his design, unless he settled a perfect union between them, he resolv'd to break thro' that difficulty, as much as he was against it. Tho' both of them had courage and conduct, Renault chiefly valued himself upon disposing things so well, that the execution should be easy, and the effect infallible. The captain, on the

contrary,

contrary, who was far less advanced in years, prided himself most in being a man of great execution, and capable of an extraordinary resolution. The marquis informed him of the several negotiations Renault had transacted, of his admirable knowledge, which was able to find expedients for all emergencies, of his eloquence and address to gain new partisans, and his talent for writing, which was so necessary when there was an occasion to have perpetual accounts of the condition of the fleets, the provinces, and the armies; and therefore he conceiv'd such a man would be a wonderful help to him. That he was an old man of great experience, who wanted neither heart nor steadiness, but that his age and his genius, which was rather for the cabinet, than for action, render'd him incapable of sharing with the captain the glory of the execution. As for Renault, he only told him, that the captain was the duke of Ossuna's creature, and that as the duke was to have the principal share in their design, there was no concealing any thing from his confident; that he conjur'd him therefore to condescend to the manners of the pyrate, as much as should be necessary for their purpose, and to shew him all the deference which was needful to conciliate the affection of a man of execution, haughty and presumptuous to the last degree.

The marquis having thus laboured to dispose these two men to carry it well each to the other, was mightily surpriz'd the first time he brought them together at his house, when he saw them embrace with a great deal of tenderness, as soon as they had cast their eyes upon one another. There is no mind so fixed and clear, but it is apt at first to make an unreasonable judgment of things which surprize it extremely. The first thought of the ambassador was that he was betray'd. As he had always imagin'd these men were strangers he could not comprehend why they had concealed from him that they were acquainted. But the mystery was soon unriddled. For he understood they had seen one another at the house of a famous Greek woman, who had an extraordinary merit for a courtesan, of which there needed no other proof than this
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adventure, in which she had so religiously kept the secret, which they had enjoin'd her, of their names. This fidelity appear'd to them the more to be admir'd, because she was not ignorant that they had conceiv'd a great esteem for each other.

The ambassador being fully recover'd from his surprise, was extreamly pleas'd to find the union he so much desired ready made to his hand. They own'd in the sequel of the conversation that they had each of them a private design to engage the other in the undertaking. As they were brim full of their project in the conversations they had had together at that woman's house, they had fallen sometimes on matters of this nature, in talking of the affairs of the times, of the state, and of the war. This was done without discovering themselves, and still more without any design of doing it; however they freely acknowledged before the ambassador that the heat of argument had sometimes carried them a little too far, and that they had express'd their sentiments too openly. The ambassador exhorted them to make use of this reflection, to be more circumspect for the future, and to learn by this experience, that to keep a great design truly secret, it is not enough not to say nor do any thing which has any relation to it, but that a man must not so much as remember that he knows it. Renault then acquainted them, that since the rumours of a peace, which were revived towards the end of June, the Venetian officers had treated the foreign troops very ill; as they being no longer restrained by the count of Nassau, who died about the same time, had not behaved well before Gradisca: that the general of the Republic fearing they should do worse, had separated them, and put them into several posts, at the greatest distance from one another that he could chuse; and this precaution having made the distrust of their fidelity public, they had mutinied, and having insolently refused to execute some orders of the senate, that general had thought it his duty to put to death the chief of the seditious: that he had confined their leaders at Padua, and distributed the rest into different places of Lombardy, 'till they could be paid off, and the

the execution of the treaties permitted the Republick to dismiss them. Renault added that the count of Nassau's Lieutenant, who was one of the principal persons with whom he had negotiated, was banish'd to Brescia, and had contriv'd a plot there, by means of which, he was ready to put that town into the hands of Don Pedro; and that it was necessary, in the first place, to come to a resolution in reference to that particular design, because the lieutenant press'd in his letters to have a decisive answer.

The ambassador told them, no motion must be made on that side, 'till they were masters of Venice; and even then there would be occasion but for a single place in Lombardy; that they were assur'd of Crema, and that this new enterprize wou'd only divide their forces; that however they shou'd keep those they had gain'd in their good disposition; but the execution shou'd be put off from time to time under different pretences, and that rather than expose themselves to make the least declaration, that thought must be laid aside entirely. Renault reply'd that besides the lieutenant, he had treated with three French gentlemen, whose names were Durand, serjeant-major of the regiment of Lievestein, De Brinvile, and DeBribe, with a Savoyard nam'd de Ternon, who had been at the storming of Geneva, a Hollander named Theodor, Robert Revellido an Italian engineer, and two other Italians, who had been formerly employ'd in the arsenal, and whose names were Lewis de Villa-Mezzana, a captain of light-horse, and William Retrosi, lieutenant to captain Honorat in Palma. That he had judg'd it necessary to open himself fully to these nine persons; but, in the manner he had chosen them, he wou'd answer for their fidelity with his head; that during his stay in the camp they had already made sure of above two hundred officers; and as for those officers, he had only given them to understand, according to the ambassador's orders, that the business was to repair to Venice, to deliver his Excellency out of the hands of the populace of that city, when occasion shou'd re-

quire it. That since his return, having written to know the exact number of men on which he might depend, and desir'd them to report nothing but what was absolutely certain; they had inform'd him, that he might reckon upon two thousand men of the troops of Lievestein at least, and on two thousand three hundred of those of Nassau, and that all the officers were ready to put themselves into his hands, as a security for this promise. That in the beginning of this negotiation, they had flatter'd their soldiers with the hopes of some expedition which they should go upon, when they were discharg'd by the Republick, and in which they might make themselves ample amends for the misery they had suffer'd: that there was no ground to apprehend the singularity of the enterprize shou'd dishearten them, even if it shou'd be requisite to declare it; for they were so exasperated against the senate, on account of the ignominious usage they had receiv'd, that if there were no other reason, he wou'd answer there was nothing they were not capable of doing to be reveng'd. That, however, for the greater safety, the secret need not be reveal'd to them, unless it shou'd be thought proper, 'till things were so well disposed, and so forward that they cou'd hardly doubt of the success; and that as it was resolv'd to give them Venice to plunder, there was not one who wou'd scruple to enrich himself by so sure and ready a way, that he might pass the remainder of his days commodiously.

From the first projecting this design, the Marquis de Bedmar had determin'd not to engage in it 'till he was furnish'd with many more means than were necessary to effect it; and that these means shou'd be so independent one of another, that even if some of them shou'd happen to fail, the others shou'd not thereby be less capable to proceed. In this view, he had not omitted to fix measures with the Duke of Ossuna for a body of troops, tho' he reckon'd on what Don Pedro had promis'd him, and upon Renault's agreement with the Dutch officers; and each of these three ways he had secur'd himself with the same caution and exactness

actness as if he had had no assurance of the other two, and as if he had three different undertakings in hand. It was now time to know precisely when the Duke of Ossuna cou'd send to Venice the men which were desir'd of him. But because he was too uncertain in his opinion, to be blindly rely'd on in so important and difficult a matter, some person must be sent to him who could judge upon the spot, whether he was in a condition to perform what he promis'd. The captain cou'd not be absent from Venice, without observation; and Renault was indispensibly necessary there: they cast their eyes therefore on de Bribe, one of the French gentlemen whom Renault had engag'd in Frioul: but this cavalier having received a commission from the republick to raise soldiers, while he was preparing to set out, it was thought more adviseable that he shou'd go on with his levies, and one Laurence Nolor of Franc county, and a comrade of the captain, was dispatch'd in his stead on the first day of the year 1618. The marquis thought it was likewise time to open himself to the council of Spain. To obviate all the illustrations which might be requir'd from him, he sent thither his project, as much at large, and as well represented as he was able: and because he knew the slowness of that court in its deliberations he told the Duke of Lerma flatly in a private letter, that he must have a speedy and decisive answer; that the danger he was in gave him a right to express himself in that absolute manner; and that if they detain'd his express above eight days, he would interpret that delay as an order to abandon the whole design. He receiv'd an answer within the time he requir'd, but it was not altogether so decisive as he wou'd have had it; they told him, if there were any disadvantage in deferring it that he might proceed, but that, if it were possible, it was mightily desir'd to have first a full and faithful description of the state of the Republick.

The ambassador who was prepar'd on that head was not long in drawing up a relation so just and artful, that the Spaniards have called it 'the master-piece

of their politicks.' It does not appear by it for what design it was calculated, and yet they who understand it find not one word there which does not relate to the scheme in view. It begins with an eloquent complaint of the difficulty of the work, by reason of the impenetrable secrecy of the government he is to describe. Then he praises the government, but the encomium respects rather the first age of that Republick, than its present condition; after this, he falls into a common-place equally sad and eloquent, of the deplorable condition of humane things, which the more excellent they are, are the more subject to corruption: that therefore the wisest laws of that state, by the abuse which has been made of them, have been the principal cause of its present disorder; that the law which wholly excludes the people from the knowledge of affairs, has been the occasion of the tyranny of the nobles: and that which subjects the ecclesiastical power to the censure of the sovereign magistrate has encourag'd the licentiousness of the people of Venice against the court of Rome, since the late quarrel with that court: he exaggerates this licentiousness with the impieties which the Hollanders were said to have committed in Friouli with impunity; he exclaims particularly against the burying of a nobleman of their country, whose name was Renaud de Brederode, in the church of the Servites at Venice, notwithstanding he was a Calvinist; and severely taxes father Paul in that article without naming him, because it was he who had inspired that boldness into the senate: he admires how the people, being no longer restrain'd in their civil obedience by religion which is violated so many ways before their eyes, can bear the horrible oppressions with which they are loaded: he instances in these oppressions, and does not aggravate any thing while he represents them insupportable: he then shews that the honour and the blood of the people are not less at the discretion of the nobles than their wealth, and the genius of the nation being inclin'd as it is to avarice, to revenge, and to love, it
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is no wonder if those who obey in a government of this nature are oppressed by those who command. In a word, he examines the state of the senate, of the provinces, and of the armies: in the senate he observes its divisions; and does not scruple to say, that he knows many malecontents among the nobles: he describes the desolation of the provinces, by the cruel irruptions the Uscoques have made in some of them, and by the poverty the others have brought upon themselves in succouring them; he affirms there are not three officers paid in each garrison of Lombardy, and that the Republick preserves its authority there, only because nobody undertakes to usurp it from them. As to the armies, he gives a just relation of the insurrections which have happen'd, and of the dispersion which had been made of the mutineers in such numbers, that those who were left could be look'd upon only as a croud of wretched militia without experience or discipline. That as for the sea-forces, they were now become the refuge of the most infamous pirates on the Mediterranean; a crew unworthy of the name of soldiers, and of whose service the Republick could no longer be sure, than while they were not in a condition to turn her own arms against her. Having describ'd these things with a wonderful beauty of language and force of expression, he examines, what judgment ought to be made from hence, concerning the future state of this Republick, her fortune and duration, and makes appear by the consequences, which arise from the facts he has establish'd, that she is in a decrepit state, and that her maladies are of such a nature, that she cannot bring them to a crisis, nor correct her present constitution, but by changing its form intirely.

Upon this relation, the council of Spain left the Marquis of Bedmar in full liberty to act, without giving him any orders; but Nolot's not returning put a stop to all, and the ambassador was out of patience at the fault he had committed, in exposing himself in an affair of this nature to the capricious humour of the Duke of Ossuna, whom he ought to have

known long ago. A delay was mortal in this conjuncture of things. After the Spaniards had taken Vercelli, Gradiſca was extremely preſſed by the Venetians, and the council of Spain had no other way to ſave it, than to renew the propoſitions of peace. A writing was drawn up by concert at Madrid, which contain'd the principal articles; but the continual diſorders of the Duke of Oſſuna oblig'd the Venetians to recall the powers of their ambaffador, in order to tranſplant the negotiation into France, where the death of the marſhal d' Ancre gave them hopes of more favour. The peace was concluded at Paris, September 6th, and the governor of Milan had a conference ſome time after with the Count de Bethune, to regulate the execution of it in reference to the Duke of Savoy: but at the ſame time the governor continu'd to diſturb the Venetians, and even took ſome ſmall places from them in Lombardy. They complain'd of it every where, and were preparing for war more than ever, 'till the Marquis de Bedmar made his compliments on the peace in a full ſenate, and promis'd the execution of the articles agreed. He did this not ſo much by any order he had receiv'd from Spain, as becauſe he had a mind to wipe out the ill impreſſions the ſenate had entertain'd of him, from things which were paſt. In this view he acquitted himſelf on this occaſion with all the zeal, and all the demonſtrations of joy and friendſhip imaginable; and the Venetians, who too much deſir'd what he promis'd them, ſuffer'd themſelves to be dazzled by his words, ev'n to the agreeing with him on a ſuſpenſion of arms. This ſuſpenſion was an important Stroke for the Spaniards, and the maſter-piece of their ambaffador: Gradiſca was ſtraiten'd to ſuch a degree that it could not hold out fifteen days longer: and yet hoſtilities were not to ceaſe 'till the expiration of two months, becauſe that time was judg'd neceſſary on both ſides, to finiſh all the ratifications, and diſpoſe things for the execution of the treaties: it was requiſite therefore to prevent the ſurrender of this place, before that time was elaps'd; the ſuſpenſion put it out of danger, and

and the Spaniards having no longer that obligation to hasten the execution of the treaties, remain'd at liberty to spin it out in length, as much as was necessary for their designs. The Duke of Ossuna indeed being compell'd by orders from Madrid, and the instances of the Pope, offer'd soon after to restore the ships he had taken, but as for the merchandize and goods, he said, he knew not what was become of them: and yet they were selling in Naples, even before the eyes of the resident of Venice, and the Duke sent out a powerful fleet to cruise again in the Adriatick sea.

The senate complaining of it to the Marquis de Bedmar, the Marquis himself made stronger complaints of the same. He declar'd that he did not pretend to answer for the actions of the Duke of Ossuna, and that even the king their master would not answer for them: that among the many favours, and the good treatment he had receiv'd at Venice, during the whole time of his ambassy, the only displeasure he had had, was to be informed that the conduct of that Vice-Roy was imputed to his counsels: that he had never been concern'd in it; that ever so little knowledge of the Duke of Ossuna wou'd convince any one that he had no other guide than his own caprice; and as to himself, they might judge of his disposition by the peaceable procedure of the governor of Milan, of which he glory'd to be the author. That governor, 'tis true, observ'd the suspension exactly; but he still continu'd arm'd; and that it might not seem strange, he judg'd it proper to imbroid himself afresh with the Duke of Savoy. Under pretence that the troops discharg'd by that Prince had halted in the country of Vaux, waiting for the entire execution of the treaties. Don Pedro refus'd to the Count de Bethune to disarm, as he had before promis'd at Pavia, and prevail'd with the Duke of Mantua to refuse likewise what depended on him. The count de Bethune protested against them in a publick writing at his withdrawing on their refusal, and an answer was made to this protestation in the most plausible manner the Marquis

de Bedmar cou'd invent. It is plain from hence, that it was of great importance to hasten the execution of his project, since it was so difficult to keep things in the situation which was requisite to make it succeed.

All this while the Duke of Ossuna did not dispatch Nolot; and the ambassador, who was in the utmost perplexity, having engag'd Nolot to discover the reason of it at any rate, he was inform'd at last what it was. Some time after the captain had been receiv'd into the service of the Republick, the Duke who had a mind to learn by different ways the state of Venice, sent after him an Italian nam'd Alexander Spinosa, to pry there into every thing. This man, who was not known, soon got to be employ'd there, as did all the soldiers of fortune who offer'd to serve. He easily judg'd the Duke was forming some momentous enterprize, but did not suspect the pirate was the manager of it: he mistrusted however that he was not so ill with the Duke, as every body imagin'd. When Spinosa was arriv'd at Venice, he had made the Vice-Roy an offer to poniard the captain, and the Vice-Roy having refus'd it, under pretence of the danger there was in executing it, Spinosa who was a man of sense, and knew the Duke, judg'd that if there was not some stronger reason for the refusal, he wou'd not scruple to be reveng'd, out of fear of making a man lose his life by it. The Duke charg'd him however to observe the actions of the pirate; either to hinder Spinosa from suspecting any thing of the truth, or because this Vice-Roy was one of those who do not entirely confide in any person, and was desirous to see, whether what Spinosa shou'd write concerning the captain, wou'd agree with what the captain shou'd write himself. In order to acquit himself the better of his commission, Spinosa got into the company of some French men, whom he had known at Naples, and who frequented the captain very much at Venice. These persons, who were of the number of the conspirators, gave the captain an exact account of the inquiry Spinosa made into his conduct,

conduct, and discovered also that this spy was carrying on some design himself, and endeavour'd to procure men of courage and action for the service of the Duke of Ossuna. The captain was very much incens'd that the Duke shou'd not have an entire confidence in him, but he was not surpriz'd at it; he only consider'd, that if Spinosa continu'd to cabal, and was not in concert with him, he wou'd weaken their party by dividing it, and that it was impossible for him to open himself to a man, who was planted upon him for a spy. The marquis de Bedmar and Renault were also of opinion, that no time ought to be lost to remedy this inconvenience; and after having maturely consulted how to do it, they found there was no safety for them, unless they destroy'd Spinosa. He was a man that wou'd sell his life dearly if an attempt shou'd be made to assassinate him, his employment oblig'd him to be always upon his guard, and the captain was forced at last to accuse him before the council of Ten, as a spy from the Duke of Ossuna, after he had in vain try'd all other means to take him off. The French, with whom he had convers'd, depos'd so judiciously, and supported things so well by circumstances, that he was seized, and strangled privately the same day. Whatever he cou'd alledge against the pirate made no impression on the minds of the judges, because it was against his accuser, and he was not able to prove any thing he had advanced.

This affair very much increas'd the confidence the Venetians had repos'd in the captain, but it made the Marquis de Bedmar very uneasy, because it was an alarm to the senate, to have a watchful eye upon the conduct of those strangers, who were in the service of the Republick. The Duke of Ossuna had just been inform'd of the death of Spinosa, when Nolot arriv'd at Naples; he did not hesitate in guessing at the author; the mortification it gave him made him take it ill, that the Marquis de Bedmar had sent him no advice of it; and the different suspicions, which this accident rais'd in his mind, left him at a loss what to resolve upon. In the mean time the troops
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of Lievestein having mutiny'd afresh, were brought to the Lazaretto, within two miles of Venice, by order of the senate, in the beginning of February. The marquis de Bedmar, who fear'd they should come to an agreement with the Republick for their pay, and so be oblig'd to depart, contriv'd by the means of their chief officers, that they were not satisfy'd with the sum which was immediately offer'd them. To make an advantage of the neighbourhood of these troops, so favourable to the design of the conspirators, Nolot had orders by an express, to represent to the Vice-Roy, that during all that month, they should have near five thousand men ready at their command. Nolot omitted nothing of his duty; but the Vice-Roy, who had not quite digested his passion, amus'd him so long, that after six weeks expectation, the officers fearing lest their soldiers, who suffer'd extremely, should treat without them, treated themselves, with the consent of the conspirators, who thought they could not prevent it. Ten days after, Nolot arrives from Naples, with the resolution of the Duke of Ossuna, which was such as was desir'd, but directed to Robert Brulard, one of the captain's comrades: the ambassador and the captain, who were busy'd in contriving how to extricate themselves, did not vouchsafe so much as to take notice of the affront the Vice-Roy offer'd them by such a slight: he declar'd he was ready to send, when they pleas'd, the barks, brigantines, and other small vessels, proper for the ports and canals of Venice, and a sufficient number to carry six thousand men if there was occasion. Nolot had seen the troops and the barks ready to set out, and the captain caus'd the ports and canals to be founded, thro' which they were to pass, in order to land at the place of St. Mark. As he had a great many sea-men at his command, by reason of his office, who not being suspected, could go and come in those ports and canals as they pleas'd; it was easy to him, to cause all the dimensions thereof to be taken with exactness. There was nothing now remaining but to hinder the departure of the troops of Lievestein:

stein: no money was spar'd for that purpose, and the rigour of the season serv'd for a pretence for their delay: the greatest part of them continu'd still at the Lazaretto; and those who were embark'd when Nolot arriv'd, stop'd in places which were not much more remote.

To relieve Renault and the captain in the cares which lay upon them, and for which they were not sufficient alone, they thought they wanted eighteen men at least, who should be men of sense and courage, and in whom they could fully confide. They had made up this number, of the nine with whom Renault had negotiated in Friouli, and of the chief of those whom the pyrate had caus'd to follow him from Naples. There were five captains of ships like himself, Vincent Robert of Marseils, Laurence Nolot, and Robert Brulard, of whom mention has been made already; these two last were natives of Franc county, as well as another Brulard, nam'd Laurence, with another Provencal nam'd Anthony Jaffier. There were besides two brothers Lorrainers, Charles and John Boleau, and an Italian, John Rizardo, all three excellent petardeers, and a Frenchman nam'd l'Anglade, who pass'd for the most ingenious master of fireworks that had ever been. The capacity of this last was so well known, that he had obtain'd at first to work at his trade in the arsenal; by this means the petardeers, his comrades, had a free admittance there, as well as Villa Mezzana, and Retrozi, who were of those whom Renault had engag'd, and who had formerly been employ'd there.

These six persons drew so exact a plan of the arsenal, that those who had never been there, might deliberate upon it, with as much certainty as they who had made it. They were much assisted in this, by two officers of the arsenal itself, whom the captain had gain'd. They seem'd to him to be dissatisfy'd with their employment, endow'd with the qualities proper for his design, dispos'd to enter into it, if they found it for their interest, and capable of keeping faithfully to what they should promise. The issue answer'd

answer'd the judgment he had made of them: he season'd the praises he gave them upon all occasions, with so considerable a number of Spanish pistoles which he had to distribute, that they engag'd to do blindly whatever he should command them. L'Anglade and they lodg'd in the arsenal; Renault had taken with him to the French ambassador's three of his friends, Bribe, Brainville, and Laurence Brulard; the three petardeers remaining at the Marquis de Bedmar's, who furnish'd them with the powder, the other materials, and the instruments necessary to work at their trade, but without having any communication with them; they had already made more petards and fireworks than were necessary, and the ambassador's palace was so full, that it was impossible to lodge there any others besides themselves. The captain liv'd at his usual place of abode, but alone, that he might not give any suspicion in case he was observ'd; and for the others, he had lodg'd them at the courtesan's where he and Renault first met. The esteem, and the friendship which had succeeded the love they had had for this woman, but much more the knowledge they had of her fidelity, persuaded them they could not make a better choice. She was of a Greek island in the Archipelago, and of a quality as noble as it is possible to be in a country under the dominion of the Venetians, without being a Venetian. He who commanded there for the Republic, having debauch'd her by mighty promises, had since caus'd her father to be assassinated, because he would have oblig'd him to perform what he had promis'd: the daughter was come to Venice to demand justice for the murder, but in vain; and this prosecution having consum'd the small fortune she had, her beauty repair'd her misery, as it had caus'd it. There is no resentment so violent as that of a woman well-born, who is reduced to take up a profession unworthy of her. She heard with rapture the project of her two friends, and without difficulty risqu'd every thing in order to favour it. She hir'd one of the largest houses in Venice, and under colour of some conveniencies she

she was causing to be made in it, she brought thither but part of her furniture, that she might have a pretence to keep the house they had before, which was not far off; in these two houses eleven of the principal conspirators were conceal'd near six months. As she was visited by all the persons of fashion, strangers, and Venetians, and this great resort of people might be likely to discover those who lodg'd with her, she feign'd herself indispos'd to get rid of them. They who know with what civility women of this profession are treated in Italy, will have no difficulty to comprehend, that her house became hereby inaccessible to all those who had no business there. The conspirators went out only by night, and their meetings were held in the day-time. In these meetings Renault and the captain propos'd those things which they had agreed upon with the Marquis de Bedmar, to have the advice of the company, and come to a resolution on the means to execute them. When they had occasion to repair to the Marquis, they did it with all the circumspection which is necessary in a country, and at a time, when the houses of ambassadors were narrowly observ'd as if they were so many enemies, and the Marquis in particular. They had long concluded that it would be requisite to have a thousand soldiers in Venice, before they fir'd their train: but because it was dangerous to introduce them all arm'd, the Marquis had provided himself with arms for above five hundred; this was easily done with secrecy, for the Gondola's of ambassadors are not search'd, let them come from any place whatever, and there wanted now only an opportunity to bring these thousand men into Venice without observation.

The Doge Donato dy'd, and in his place was chosen Anthony Priuli, who was then in Friouli, to see the treaties executed. The generals by sea had orders to go and fetch him with the navy, and the great chancellor and the secretaries of state were to meet him at a distance from the city, and carry him the ducal cap; twelve of the principal senators were to

to follow them almost as far, as ambassadors of the Republick, each of these single in a brigantine arm'd and adorn'd magnificently, and with a splendid retinue; the senate it self in a body was to receive him a good way out at sea on board the Bucentaure, and conduct him into the city with all this solemnity. As it rarely happens that they who are created Doges are out of Venice, this pomp drew thither an infinite number of curious people. The Marquis de Bedmar, who foresaw it, as soon as he was assur'd of the election of Priuli, dispatch'd Nolot a second time to Naples, with orders to see the brigantines of the Duke of Osuna set out with the utmost speed. To remove all grounds of delay, the captain was enjoin'd to send to the Duke as exact a plan as was possible of the execution, and especially to give him an account of what had pass'd at Venice during Nolot's first journey. The pirate enlarg'd upon this precaution; he was for securing the mind of the Vice-Roy by all manner of means, and to shew him, that it was not believ'd there was any reason to complain of him, he concluded his letter with these words. 'I blame Nolot's negligence for the long stay he made at Naples, for I question not, but if he had represented things as they were, your Excellency would have soon dispatch'd him. He must certainly have ask'd for money, or something like it, but he had express orders to the contrary, and I undertake even now to keep Venice for six months in my power, if it be necessary, in expectation of your Excellency's great fleet, provided you send me the Brigantines as soon as Nolot shall arrive, and the six thousand men you were pleas'd to offer.' This letter was dated April the 7th, the day on which Nolot set out. In the mean time Renault brought to Venice all the officers of the troops which had been corrupted; to acquaint themselves with the town, and observe the posts, that they might not wander, nor be at a loss on the night of the execution. Before they came, they chose a thousand men out of all the Dutch troops, who were to hold themselves ready to march

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at the first orders ; and that their absence might be less remarkable, they drew an equal number out of all the places belonging to the state on Terra-firma, in which there were any dispers'd. To receive these men, each of the officers hir'd as many lodgings as he could without giving a suspicion ; they told the landlords that they were for strangers who came to see the festival ; and as for the officers themselves, they all lodg'd at courtesans houses, where, paying well, they were in more safety than any where else. There remain'd nothing now but to regulate the order of the execution ; which the Marquis de Bedmar, Renault, and the captain settled in concert as follows.

' As soon as it shall be night, those of the thousand
' soldiers who shall come without arms, shall go and
' arm themselves at the ambassador's house. Five
' hundred shall repair to the place of St. Mark with
' the captain, the best part of the other five hundred
' shall go and join Renault, in the neighbourhood of the
' arsenal, and the rest shall seize all the barks, Gondola's and other the like carriages which shall be
' found at the bridge Rialto, with which they shall
' fetch with all haste about a thousand soldiers more of
' the troops of Lievestein, which are still at the Lazaretto. During this, they shall deport themselves as
' peaceably as they can, that they may not be oblig'd
' to declare themselves, till these troops shall be arrived. However if they should be obliged to it,
' and any thing should be discovered, the captain shall
' intrench himself within the place of Saint Mark, and
' Renault shall seize the arsenal, in the manner which
' shall be represented ; then two great guns shall be
' fired to serve as a signal to the brigantines of the
' duke of Ossuna, which shall be ready to enter Venice ;
' and the Spaniards whom they shall bring, shall supply the want of the walloons, who shall be sent for.
' If there be no necessity to declare during this, when
' the walloons shall be landed at the place of St. Mark,
' the captain shall take five hundred of them, with the
' other five hundred men he shall have already, and
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the serjeant-major Duran to command them. They shall begin by drawing up these thousand men in order of battle in the place; then the captain, with two hundred whom he shall take, shall make himself master of the ducal palace, and especially of the room of arms that is there, to supply those of his men who shall want any, and to hinder the enemies from making use of them: one hundred others, under Bribe, shall possess themselves of the Secque, and one hundred more under Brainville of the Procuraty, by the help of some men who shall be artfully introduced there into the belfry in the day time. This last hundred shall remain in a corps de guard in the belfry so long as the execution shall last, that the alarm-bell may not be rung. Possession shall be taken of the entrance of all the streets which lead to the place, by another corps de guard; and artillery shall be planted there facing to the street, and till some can be had from the arsenal, some of those shall be taken which are ready mounted before the house of the council of Ten which is hardby, and which it will be no difficult matter to seize. In all those places which shall be thus secured, and in which a corps de guard shall be kept, they shall poniard all they find; and during these different executions round the place, the serjeant-major shall remain still in order of battel in the middle, with the rest of the troops. All this shall be done with the least noise that may be; afterwards they shall begin to declare themselves by petarding the gate of the arsenal. At the report of which the eight conspirators who have drawn the plan thereof, and shall be within, shall set fire to the four corners with fire-works, which as well as the petards are prepared for this purpose at the ambassador's palace, and they shall poniard the chief commanders. It will be easy for them to do it in the confusion which the fire and the noise of the petards will occasion, especially those commanders not having any suspicion of them. They shall then join Renault when he shall have entered, and make an end of killing all they find, and the soldiers shall carry artillery

tillery to all the places, where it shall be proper to plant some, as at the Arena de Mari, at the Fontego de Tedeschi, at the magazines of salt, on the belfry of the Procuraty, on the bridge of Rialto, and other eminencies, from whence the town may be battered into rubbish in case of resistance. At the same time that Renauk shall petard the arsenal, the captain shall force the prison of Saint Mark, and shall arm the prisoners; the principal senators shall be killed, and suborned persons shall go and set fire to above forty places of the town, the farthest distant one from another that is possible, that so the confusion may be the greater. In the mean while the Spaniards from the duke of Ossuna, having heard the signal which shall be given them, as soon as the arsenal is seized, shall come and land also at the place of St. Mark, and immediately disperse themselves in the principal quarters of the town, as that of St. George, that of the Jews and others, under the conduct of the other nine chief conspirators. The cry shall be nothing but LIBERTY, and after all these things are executed, leave shall be given to plunder, but not the strangers; it shall be prohibited to take any thing from them under pain of death, and no further slaughter shall be made but of those who shall resist.

Nolot found things in so good a posture at his arrival at Naples, that the six thousand men were put to sea the next day under the command of an Englishman named Elliot. In order to give the less suspicion, the duke of Ossuna caused his large ships to take a great compass to repair to their posts; but he sent Elliot and the brigantines by the shortest way. The second day of their steering, this little fleet met some pirates of Barbary who attacked it. As it was only prepared to transport the men it had on board, and not to sustain a warm engagement, it was very much annoyed by the artillery of the Barbarians, whose brigantines were more manageable and better armed. But notwithstanding the great croud of men which were on board those of Naples did not allow them the necessary room to defend themselves in order; yet as they were all
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chosen Spaniards, they handled the enemy so roughly with their swords, that the pirates might perhaps have repented their stopping them in their course, if they had not both been dispersed by a furious tempest which separated them in the height of the action. The little fleet was so damaged that it could not put to sea again for some time; and the marquis de Bedmar seeing by this news, that he could not disturb the solemnity which was preparing at Venice, assisted at it with more magnificence than any body. He protested in a full senate, making his compliment to the new Doge, that the particular joy which he expressed at his promotion, proceeded from the hopes he had, that his serenity would preserve on the throne the favourable dispositions he had lately demonstrated in Friouli, for the accomplishment of the peace. At his return from this audience, he sent for Renault and the captain; at first he asked them if they thought it proper to lay the whole aside? they answered, they were not only of the contrary opinion, but that even their companions had appeared no more alarmed at this misfortune of the fleet, than if it had safely arrived; and that they were all disposed to pursue the necessary measures to maintain things in their present situation, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity. The ambassador, who put this question to them with trembling, embraced them with tears of joy after this answer. He told them with a cheerfulness and vehemence which would have re-assured the faintest hearts, and inspired intrepidity and daringness into the most dismayed, that great disappointments, which in common affairs might reasonably surprize the mind, are accidents which are natural to extraordinary enterprizes; that they are the only test of the strength of the soul; that a man ought then only to think himself capable of atchieving a great design, when he has been able to see it once confounded, with tranquility and constancy. It was then resolved in concert, between the marquis and his two confidants, that the execution should be delayed till the feast of the ascension, which was not far off, and which is the greatest solemnity of Venice: and that is
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the mean while, the troops should be maintained in the places where they then were, and supply'd with all the conveniencies they could wish; and for this purpose no money should be wanting to the principle officers; that of the three hundred who had been sent for to Venice, the heads should be retained, and the subalterns sent back to their troops, as well to keep the soldiers in their duty, as to discharge the town of so many, where such a number of officers might create a suspicion: that they who were detained should be employed in the most agreeable manner, that they might not be tired of waiting; nor even have the leisure if possible to reflect on the present state of things; that the twenty principle conspirators should observe their conduct narrowly; and to oblige the Republick to bear with the delay of the troops of Lievestein, and not to dismiss those of Nassau, the governor of Milan should not execute the treaties.

All the pretences that human wit can invent to defend itself against reason, were invented by the marquis de Bedmar, and put in practise by don Pedro, and the duke of Ossuna. Yet they were forced to make every day some steps towards a peace, as averse to it as they were; the council of Spain did not dare to hazard any thing, on the hopes of so doubtful a success, as was that of the conspiracy; and France, which was for maintaining the treaty of Paris, obliged the Venetians to consent to the duke of Savoy's disbanding the troops which halted in the country of Vaux, and served for a handle to the delays of don Pedro. This difficulty being removed, the marquis de Bedmar, in order to prevent that prince from surrendering the places he had taken in the Montferrat, caused a rumour to be spread, that as soon as the duke of Mantua should be re-established, he would make an agreement with the Spaniards for that state: at the same time don Pedro sprung a groundless quarrel with a minister of Savoy, who was come to Milan with the ambassadors of France, and sent him an order to depart; the duke, provoked at this affront, recalled him, and left off vacating the places he had taken; but the ambassadors
having

having represented to him that he was falling into the snare which don Pedro had laid for him, he restored them all at once. Don Pedro was so astonished at this news, that he could not forbear shewing it publicly in his discourse; he was thereby forced to restore the prisoners, and the smaller places; but for Vercelli, which was the important point, he made such strange difficulties, that Spain threatened to recall him before the usual time. At first he said, it would be ignominious to him to surrender that place while the ambassadors of France were at Milan, as it were to compel him to it by their presence; they withdrew: then he declared, he expected the duke of Savoy should first restore certain lands which belonged to some ministers of Mantua; these lands were restored, and yet Vercelli was not surrendered: at last, France, which desired to conclude the marriage of madam Christiana the king's sister with the prince of Piedmont, having explained itself in a decisive manner in reference to that place, don Pedro began to send away the stores and artillery which were there, but with an incredible slowness. The marquis de Bedmar having sent him word to be still more dilatory, he bethought himself of requiring new assurances from the duke of Savoy in favour of the duke of Mantua; but even the ministers of Mantua, tir'd with such prolongations, declar'd in a publick writing, that they did not require those assurances.

As uneasy as this declaration made the marquis de Bedmar, the conduct of the duke of Ossuna made him so much more. The duke being wearied out with the complaints the Venetians caused to be made to him from all parts, on his continuing to disturb the navigation of the gulph, and not knowing what to alledge further in his defence, thought fit at last to make this answer, that he should persist in it, as long as the Venetians should entertain in their service the most irreconcilable enemies of the king his master. It will readily be apprehended, by the care and pains the ambassador had taken to detain the Dutch troops, of whom the duke of Ossuna complained, how enraged he was, when he was informed of the duke's answer.

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He did not doubt but the senate, which was for a peace at any rate, would dismiss them, to cut off from the vice-roy all manner of excuse. But the issue deceived once more the prudence of the marquis de Bedmar: some demon, favourable to the extravagancies of the duke of Ossuna, made the Venetians take a resolution directly contrary to their inclination and interest. It was remonstrated to the senate, that the Republick by its procedure had shewn too much, that it desired a peace, and this was what made the Spanish ministers so backward to execute it; that if they satisfy'd the vice-roy on his complaint, he would imagine he gave the law to Venice, and that instead of dismissing the Hollanders, they ought to retain the troops of Lievestein, who were to depart the first opportunity, till the treaties were perfectly executed. The joy which this resolution gave the marquis de Bedmar, was interrupted by a discovery of the plot at Crema; L'Alfier the Provencal and the Italian captain who had been seduced there, quarreled at play, and fought; the captain was mortally wounded, and to discharge his conscience, confess'd all to the Venetian commander before he expired. L'Alfier, who mistrusted what would happen, as soon as he had wounded him, made his escape with those of the accomplices to whom he could give notice; the others were taken, and the French lieutenant, who was the principal manager of the enterprize; but as Renault had always appeared to them under the character of an agent of Milan, and they did not know what was become of him since, this affair fell only upon don Pedro.

Eight days after, the serjeant-major who was to deliver up Maran, having for his own profit suppressed some vails which belong'd to a valet de chambre of the Proveditore, and a pensioner of the Republick, the fellows were exasperated at the loss, and took the opportunity of his absence, to go into his house, where they broke open his chests, and carried off his money, and his papers, among which were found letters which made mention of his design; as he knew only the man came to him from the duke of Ossuna, who had negotiated

tiated with him, he could accuse no body but the duke; but he took a nobler resolution; he always answered in the midst of his tortures, that he knew very well they would not save him let him discover what he would, and that he had rather leave his accomplices, if he had any, in a condition to revenge his death, than to ruin them with himself without any advantage. A publick thanksgiving was observed in Venice for these two discoveries; the enterprize however became thereby much more certain than it was before; the senate believed they had at last discovered the hidden cause of the irregular procedure of the Spaniards, and seeing these two plots had miscarried, they imagined they were entring into a profound tranquility, and no longer doubted of the accomplishment of the treaties. However the time of the execution was at hand. From the Sunday which precedes the ascension to Whitsunday, there is at Venice one of the most celebrated fairs in the world. The great resort of traders did not render the town more difficult to be surprized, and it gave an opportunity to the thousand soldiers, who came thither among the merchants, to enter it, and lodge themselves without observation. It was easy for them to leave the Venetian towns, where they were dispersed, because for some time they who were most eager to return to their own country had deserted, and the Podestats applied no remedy to it, because the Republick would have so many the fewer to pay. But lest people should wonder that so many should desert in so little time, the major part gave out at their going away, that they went to the fair at Venice; they disguised themselves like persons of all professions, and care was taken to lodge together those who spoke different languages, that thereby they might be the less suspected to hold an intelligence, and they were all cautious of giving any token that they knew one another.

The five hundred Spaniards designed for the execution of the plot at Crema, which was discovered, were sent at the same time by don Pedro to the adjacent parts of Brescia, in order upon the first advice of the
success

success of the conspiracy, to seize that town, by the assistance of a faction, which the lieutenant of the count of Nassau had formed there, and which still subsisted. He who commanded these Spaniards, was instructed to lead them directly to Venice on the first notice he should receive from Renault. As for the Venetian fleet it was retired into Dalmatia, but was prepared to put to sea again on the first orders, because of the continual motions of the duke of Ossuna. The captain sent to the officers who commanded his twelve ships in his absence, artificial fire-works of the most furious sort, to disperse secretly in all the other ships of the fleet, the day before the execution. As no body distrusted those officers, it was easy for them to do it without being perceived or even suspected. He charged them to measure the matches so exactly, that all might take fire at once; and that if any ship escaped they should attack it, and make themselves masters of it, or sink it with their cannon; and that after this they should repair to Venice without losing a moment of time, and put themselves in a posture to execute all these things forthwith; but to wait however for a fresh order before they began. The day was fixed on the Sunday of the ascension, which was the first day of the fair. The duke of Ossuna had caused his little fleet to be so well convoyed this time, that it arrived without any accident within six miles of Venice. It was divided into two parts, which sailed at some distance from one another, to be the less observed. The greatest was composed of boats like those of fishermen, to avoid suspicion, and the rest consisted of brigantines, like those of the pirates. On Saturday morning word was sent to Elliot, to set out from his post the next day, at the hour proper to arrive within sight of Venice in the dusk of the evening, and to set up the standard of St. Mark; to possess himself of some small islands, by which he was to pass, which were able to make no defence, and from whence he might come to Venice without being perceived; that then he should present himself boldly before the two castles

of Lido and Malamoco, because it was known there was no garrison in them, and that he might pass between them without any obstacle; that he should advance within cannon shot of Venice, and give notice when he should be arrived there: and by the return of the boat which should bring that advice, the captain would send seamen to pilot him, lest he should be stranded on the shoals, with which the waters that encompass Venice are full, or should split against the rocks, which render the entrance of the ports impracticable to those who are not used to them.

As the following day was to be employed in disposing all things for the execution of the night, Renault and the captain thought it proper to hold a consultation for the last time, the day before, with their companions; and the captain left to Renault the care of representing to them the state of things, and of giving them the necessary informations. Whatever they could do, they could not all meet 'till near night. There were the three French men who lodged with Renault, the lieutenant of the count de Nassau, the three petardiers, l'Anglade, the two officers of the arsenal, the captain and the lieutenant who had been employed there formerly, Nolot, the two Brulards, Jaffier, Robert, the Hollander, Theodor, the Savoyard who had assisted at the storming of Geneva, and the engineer Revellido. These twenty persons having shut themselves up at the Grecian woman's with Renault and the captain, in the most private part of the house, after the usual precautions on these occasions, Renault made a speech. He began with a simple and large narration of the present condition of affairs; of the forces of the Republick and of their own; of the disposition of the town, and of the fleet; of the preparations of don Pedro, and of the duke of Ossuna; of the arms, and other warlike provisions which were at the house of the ambassador of Spain; of the intelligence he had in the senate, and among the nobles: in a word, of the exact account which had been taken of whatever it was requisite to know.

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Having gain'd the approbation of his auditors by the recital of these things, the truth of which they knew as well as himself, and which were almost all of them the effects of their care as well as of his :

' These, my companions, continu'd he, are the
' means appointed, to conduct you to the glory you
' are seeking, and each of you can judge, whether
' they are not sufficient, and sure: we have infallible
' ways to introduce ten thousand armed men into a
' town which has not too hundred to oppose us; the
' plunder of which will unite to us all the strangers
' whom curiosity or trade has drawn thither; and e-
' ven the people thereof will help us to strip the great
' ones, by whom they have been so often stripped, as
' soon as they shall see it safe to do so: the best ships
' belonging to the fleet are in our interest, and the o-
' thers carry in them at present what will reduce them
' to ashes: the arsenal, the wonder of Europe, and
' the terror of Asia, is within a small matter alrea-
' dy in our power: the nine gallant men who are
' here present, and who have been ready these six
' months past to possess themselves of it, have taken
' their measures so well, during this delay, that they
' run no hazard in answering for the success with their
' heads. If we had neither the troops of the Laza-
' retto, nor those on Terraferma, nor the little fleet
' of Elliot to support us, nor the twenty Venetian
' ships of our comrade, nor the large ships of the duke
' of Ossuna, nor the Spanish army in Lombardy, we
' shou'd be strong enough, with our intelligences, and
' the thousand men which we have: yet all these dif-
' ferent succours, I have nam'd, are so dispos'd, that
' each of them might fail without doing the least pre-
' judice to the rest; they may help one another, but
' they cannot hurt one another: it is almost impossi-
' ble they should not all succeed, and yet one of them
' alone is sufficient. If after having taken all the
' precautions which human prudence can suggest, one
' may make a judgment of the success fortune intends
' us; what tokens can there be of her favour, which

are not inferior to those we have? certainly, my friends, they are miraculous: it is a thing without parallel in history, that an enterprize of this nature has been discover'd in part, without being intirely lost; and ours has been proof against five accidents, the least of which, in all human appearance, ought to have overthrown it. Who wou'd not have thought, that the ruin of Spinosa, who was projecting the same thing as we, shou'd not likewise have prov'd ours? that the dismissing the troops of Lievestein, which were all devoted to us, shou'd not, have divulged what we kept secret? that the dispersion of the little fleet shou'd not have broken all our measures, and produced many fresh inconveniencies? that the discovery at Crema, and at Maran, shou'd not necessarily draw after it the detection of the whole scheme? yet all these things had no consequences; the traces were not follow'd, which wou'd have led up to us; no advantage was made of the light they gave: did ever so profound a tranquility succeed so great a confusion? the senate, as we are faithfully inform'd, the senate, I say, is in a perfect security: our good destiny has blinded the most clear-sighted of all men, incouraged the most timorous, lull'd asleep the most suspicious, and confounded the most subtile and discerning. We are still alive, my dear friends, and are more powerful than we were before these disasters: they have only serv'd to prove our constancy; we still live, and our life shall soon be fatal to the tyrants of this place. So extraordinary and invincible a happiness must be preternatural, and have we not ground to presume it is the work of some power more than human? and in truth, my companions, what is there upon earth, that is worthy the protection of Heaven, if what we are doing is not? we are about destroying the most horrible of all governments: we are about restoring wealth to all the poor subjects of this State, from whom the avarice of the nobles wou'd ravish it eternally without us; we shall save the honour of all the wo-

men,

men, which might one day be born under their domination, with beauty enough to please them; we shall restore life to an infinite number of wretches, whom their cruelty has in its power to sacrifice to their least resentment, for the smallest matters. In a word, we shall punish them who most deserve it of all mankind, and who are equally polluted with the crimes which nature abhors, and those which she cannot suffer without blushing. Let us not then be afraid to take the sword in one hand, and the torch in the other, to exterminate these wretches; and when we shall behold these palaces, where impiety is on the throne, burning with a fire, which is rather the fire of heav'n than ours; these tribunals, which have been so often sully'd with the tears, and the substance of the innocent, consum'd by the devouring flames; the furious soldier drawing out his reeking hands from the body of the wicked; death ranging thro' every quarter, and whatever hideous spectacles the darkness of the night and military licence are capable of producing; let us then remember, my dear friends, that there is nothing compleatly pure among men, that the most commendable actions are subject to the greatest inconveniencies, and in short, that instead of the various furies which laid waste this unhappy land, the disorders of the approaching night are the only means to establish peace, innocence and liberty there for ever.

This discourse was receiv'd by the whole assembly with the complaisance which men usually have for sentiments agreeable to their own. However Renault who had observ'd their countenances, remark'd, that Jaffier, one of the captain's best friends had fall'n, all on a sudden, from an extream attention into an inquietude which he strove in vain to hide, and that there still remain'd in his eyes an air of astonishment and sadness, which express'd a mind seiz'd with horror. Renault spoke of it to the captain, who made a jest of it at first; but having view'd Jaffier for some time, he was almost of the same opinion. Renault, who perfectly

fectly understood the relations and necessary connections between the most secret motions of the mind, and the lightest external demonstrations which slip from it, when a man is in any agitation of thought, having maturely examin'd what had appear'd to him in Jaffier's looks, thought himself oblig'd to declare to the captain that he did not believe he was to be depended on. The captain, who knew Jaffier to be one of the bravest men in the world, accus'd him of judging precipitately, and beyond reason; but Renault persisting to justify his suspicion, laid the grounds and the consequences of it before him so clearly, that if the captain was not touch'd by them as deeply, he was convinced at least, that Jaffier ought to be watch'd. However he represented to Renault, that if even Jaffier shou'd be stagger'd, which he cou'd not imagine, he had not time enough left betwixt then and to-morrow night to deliberate how to betray them, and to take a resolution thereon; but let it be as it wou'd, in the present posture of affairs, there was no time to form new measures, and that it was a risque which must be run, either willingly or by force. Renault reply'd, there was one sure way not to be expos'd to it, and that was to poniard Jaffier themselves that night. The captain remain'd silent a-while at that proposition; but at last he made answer, that he cou'd not resolve to kill the best friend he had upon a bare suspicion; that the action might be attended with several ill consequences; that he was afraid it might startle their companions, and render them odious to them, and make them believe they affected a sort of empire over them, and pretended to be sovereign arbiters of their life and death; that there was no room to hope, they wou'd apprehend the necessity of destroying Jaffier as well as themselves; and not apprehending it, each conspirator wou'd with grief behold his life expos'd to the first imagination of that nature, they might entertain of him; that when mens minds are in a vehement motion, a small matter may give them a wrong turn, and the least alteration they thou'd make in that state, is always
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of mighty moment, because they can take none but extreme resolutions ; that if they were to conceal the manner how Jaffier came to disappear among them, it was still more to be fear'd the company wou'd believe he was discovered and fled, or else was a prisoner, or a traitor ; and that whatever pretence they invented, his absence on the evening before the execution, he having so great a share therein as he ought to have, could not but intimidate them, and suggest to them melancholy thoughts.

Renault listen'd with attention to the captain's discourse, when one of their people came in to them with an order from the senate for all those who had any post in the fleet to go on board the next morning. At the same time was brought a note from the ambassador which discovered the reason of that order. The Duke of Ossuna cou'd not leave Naples so privately to repair to his great ships, but the spies of the Republick were appriz'd of it ; but as he had left an order that no carriage shou'd be furnish'd to go to Venice 'till a certain time, and that all letters which were directed thither shou'd be stopp'd, the Venetians cou'd not have advice of his departure before that day. The Arch-Duke, who was lately elected King of Bohemia, had desir'd succour from him against the rebels of that country who began to be in motion, and the Vice-Roy having boasted that he wou'd conduct those succours thro' the gulph to the very ports of the Arch-Duke in Istria. the Venetians had caus'd him to be intreated even by that Prince to take another rout ; but as he did not govern himself by those reasons which govern other men, when they were certified of his departure, they made no doubt but it was to conduct in person those succours by the way he had resolv'd. They wou'd not dispute the passage with him, as they might have done, because they did not seek a rupture, and only chose to send their fleet to the coasts of Istria, where he was to land his troops, in order to observe him, and restrain him from the various temptations he might be under at the sight of their maritime places.

The firmest resolutions of men usually proceed from a strong imagination of the danger they have to encounter. By the help of this imagination, the soul familiarises itself at last with the circumstances of the danger, how frightful soever they may be, by the repeated consideration of them ; but then all the firmness of its resolution is so affix'd to those particular circumstances, that if any one of them happens to alter at the point of execution, it is a very great hazard that the resolution will also change. This was what Renault and the captain dreaded might befall their companions on account of the unforeseen embarkation of the Venetian fleet, which they were just inform'd of ; and this news gave them much uneasiness, because they immediately judg'd it would oblige them, tho' ever so much against their will, to make some alteration in the manner after which they had first dispos'd the execution of their enterprize. This execution cou'd not be perform'd that instant, because the night was too far advanced, and it wou'd be day before notice cou'd be given to the little fleet to approach within cannon-shot of Venice, where it was requisite it shou'd be to begin, and before the troops which were at the Lazaretto cou'd be sent for. As for the next day, the Venetians being to put to sea, if Elliot was order'd to move forward likewise, he wou'd infallibly meet those who would be all that day repairing from Venice to the fleet. The course the Venetian navy was to make was the most favourable the conspirators cou'd wish, for it was going to turn its back to Elliot ; and all things being well consider'd, it was judg'd proper to give it time to get to some distance. The difficulty was to resolve whether the captain, l'Anglade, the three petardeers, and the other conspirators who had posts there, shou'd obey the order of the senate. They seem'd indispensibly necessary at Venice for the execution, especially the captain ; and yet he was the man who cou'd least of all stay behind ; the important command he had in the fleet, wou'd make him more taken notice of than all the others together ; as most of them had employments on board his ships, he could almost

almost alone supply their default by his authority, if he were present, and even hinder their absence from being perceiv'd. These reasons made them conclude that he shou'd go with only l'Anglade, whose employment in the fleet depended immediately on the general as well as that of the three petardeers, but as for the petardeers, they chose to risque all rather than let them depart. The general asked the captain after them as soon as he saw him, and the captain answer'd, he believ'd they were conceal'd in Venice in the courtezans houses, as well as some of his officers whom he mis'd, and that the precipitation with which he was oblig'd to come away, had not giv'n him time to find them out. The general was so press'd by the senate to be gone, and so busy for the same reason, that he cou'd not send to seek them for several days, and still less stay 'till they were found.

Before he went on board, the captain took Jaffier aside, and pray'd him to supply his place with Renault on the night of the execution. He magnify'd to him the confidence they had in his conduct and courage, and told him, that without that assurance, he shou'd never have resolv'd to go, but that he thought he left another self to his companions while Jaffier remain'd with them. During this speech, the captain observ'd him with attention; but the man being warm'd with testimonies which were given him of the esteem that was entertain'd of him, answer'd with such tokens of zeal, fidelity and acknowledgment as wou'd have confirm'd the most suspicious.

This was the last effort of his dying resolution; it vanish'd quite, when the face of his friend was turn'd; and having no longer before his eyes, the only man who was capable, by the consideration he had for him, to keep him firm, he abandon'd himself intirely to his uncertainty. The description Renault had given of the night of the execution in the conclusion of his harangue had struck him to such a degree, that he cou'd not moderate his pity. His imagination improv'd that picture; and represented to him ex-

actly, and in the most lively colours, all the cruelties and injustices which are inevitable on such occasions. From that moment he heard nothing on all sides, but the cries of children trampled under foot, the groans of aged men in murdering, and the shrieks of women ravish'd; he saw nothing but palaces tumbling down, churches on fire, and holy places defil'd with blood; Venice the sad, the deplorable Venice, presented itself every where before his eyes, no longer triumphant as formerly over the Ottoman power, and the pride of Spain, but in ashes, or in irons, and more drench'd in the blood of its inhabitants, than in the waters which encompass it. This dismal image pursues him night and day, solicits him, presses him, staggers him; he in vain endeavours to drive it away, it is more obstinate than all the furies, possesses him in the midst of his repasts, disturbs his repose, and even mingles itself in his dreams. But then to betray his friends! and what friends? men intrepid, intelligent, of unrivaled merit each in his several way; it would be the work of ages to bring together a second time so great a number of extraordinary men in the moment they are going to render themselves memorable to the latest posterity, and must the fruit they are ready to reap from the greatest resolution that ever enter'd into the mind of a private man, be ravish'd from them? and how will they perish? by torments more strange and exquisite than all those which the tyrants of passed ages have invented: who does not know that there is a prison at Venice, which is more capable of shaking the constancy of a man of courage, than the most frightful punishments of other countries?

These last reflections, which attack'd Jaffier in his weakest part, confirm'd him in his first sentiments; the pity he felt for his companions balanced in his soul that which the desolation of Venice had excited, and he continu'd in this uncertainty 'till the day of the ascension, to which the execution had been deferr'd. There came news from the captain in the morning: he sent word that he would answer for the
fleet;

fleet, that it was sailing to the neighbourhood of Maran, and at the same time as the troops of Lievestein shou'd be sent for from the Lazaretto, a boat shou'd be dispatch'd to him to acquaint him with it, and that he wou'd wait for that advice to begin to act on his side. They sent Elliot the guides that were promis'd him; suborn'd persons were introduced into the belfry of the Procuraty of St. Mark, who had some acquaintance with those who kept guard there, and who laid them asleep by means of drugs and scents proper for that purpose, mix'd with their food and liquor, and by making them drink and eat to excess on account of the publick rejoicings of the day. Orders were given to certain chosen officers, to possess themselves of the houses of those senators who were most to be fear'd, and to kill them. Each had the house mark'd out to him which he was to attack, as had also each of the principal conspirators, and the other officers, the post he was to take, the men he was to have, and where he was to take them, the word to know them [by, and the way by which he was to lead them; notice was likewise given to the troops at the Lazaretto, to the Spaniards of the little fleet, and to the thousand Hollanders who were already in Venice, how they were to divide themselves from the place of St. Mark, where they were all to rendezvous, the places they shou'd seize, the commanders which were appointed them, and the watch-word to know them; the artillery of the Council of Ten was visited by persons no way to be suspected, and it was found to be in a condition to serve.

Jaffier had the curiosity to see the ceremony where the Doge espouses the sea, because it was the last time it was to be perform'd. His compassion reviv'd at the sight of the publick rejoicings; the profound tranquillity of the unhappy Venetians gave him a more lively sense of their approaching desolation, and he return'd more irresolute than ever. But at last Heaven not being willing to abandon the work of twelve ages, and of so many able minds, to the fury of a courtesan, and of a company of profligate wretches, the good
Genius

Genius of the Republick inspir'd Jaffier with an expedient by which he hoped to save Venice and his companions at once. He went to Barthelemi Comino, secretary of the Council of Ten, and told him he had something very urgent to reveal, which concern'd the safety of the state, but first he requir'd the Doge and the council shou'd promise him one favour, and shou'd engage themselves by the most sacred oaths to make the senate ratify their promise; that the favour was, the lives of two and twenty persons he shou'd name, whatever crime they shou'd have committed; but that they shou'd not think of wresting the secret from him by torments without granting him this favour, for there were not any horrible enough to force a single word from his mouth. The Ten were assembled in a moment, and immediately sent to the Doge, to receive from him the promise Jaffier demanded. He hesitated no more than they to give it; and Jaffier being fully satisfy'd with what he was going to do, discover'd to them the whole conspiracy. The thing appear'd so horrible to them, and so prodigious, that they cou'd not believe it. However, as it was easy to verify some particulars of it, Comino was sent to the belfry of the procuratory. He brought word back, that he had found the whole guard drunk or asleep. They sent him then to the arsenal. He was a good while before he cou'd find the officers who had been corrupted: but at last a servant being intimidated with his threats, shew'd him a little door, which he caus'd to be broke open, after he had knock'd at it several times to no purpose. He found the officers with the three petardeers, who were just finishing the fire-works design'd for the execution. He ask'd them what oblig'd them to work on so great a holy-day, and why they had not open'd to him when he knock'd. They answer'd, that the petardeers were to set out the next day to repair to the fleet; that the general had order'd them to bring a great number of fire-works ready to play off; that there not being so many ready as he requir'd, they had desir'd the others to assist them to make some; that as the thing might be of consequence, they
thought

thought they might be dispens'd with as to the observation of the festival, and that in order to do it without scandal, they had shut themselves up as he found them, in the most retir'd part of the arsenal, which they had chosen on purpose. Tho' Comino cou'd make no reply to this answer, he arrested him.

The ten being frighten'd more and more, sent in the next place to the Grecian woman's house, but no body was found there. The suborn'd persons who had laid the guard of the belfry asleep, had counterfeited sleeping as well as the rest, when they saw Comino; but he was hardly gone out, when they ran to the Grecian's, where they gave so warm an alarm, that without losing a moment, Nolot, Robert, Revellidó, Retrofi, Villamezzana, Durand, Ternon, and Robert Brulard, who chanced to be with her, went and cast themselves all together into one of the barks, which had been retain'd at the Rialto, to fetch the troops from the Lazaretto, and got happily out of Venice. The grief which the Council had for their escape, made them resolve to search the houses of the ambassadors of France and of Spain without further delay. They ask'd civilly for admittance about an affair which related to the safety of the Republick. The Frenchman granted it as civilly, and Renault was taken, and brought away with Laurence Brulard, and de Bribe: but the Spaniards refus'd them with bitterness: he alledg'd all the privileges of his function, and protested furiously against the violence which was offer'd him, when he saw them enter by force. They found there arms for above five hundred men, sixty petards, and an incredible quantity of powder, of fire-works, and such like. An exact inventory was taken of all, at which he was present, ridiculing them all the while. Just when this inventory was brought to the Council of Ten, a nobleman of the house of Valiera arriv'd there with Brainvile and Theodor, two of the principal conspirators. They had been inform'd, that all was discover'd, and despairing to save themselves, because they knew all the ports were shut up since the Greek woman's escape, they resolv'd to make a shew

as if they wou'd discover the conspiracy, and went to this noble Venetian, whom they had known in Flanders, to get him to introduce them to the Council; where they were seiz'd. In the mean time a general search was made in all the taverns, inns, lodgings, gaming-houses, infamous places and others, where strangers might hide themselves; and all the officers, either Dutch, French, Spaniards, Walloons, Neapolitans, or Milanese, were secur'd, to the number of near four hundred.

While these things were doing, two natives of Dauphiny, who came from Orange, arriv'd in their boots, as they had flung themselves, at quitting their horses, into the barque which brought them. They told the Council, that some Frenchmen, their friends, having writ to them from Venice, that if they had a mind to enrich themselves, they only need hasten thither, because there was a conspiracy just ready to be executed, to seize the town and give it to be plunder'd, they were come with all speed to detect so great wickedness, instead of sharing in it. They were thank'd, lodg'd honourably, and desir'd to rest themselves 'till the senate had time to deliberate on the reward which was due to them. In the mean while, the day came: the senate assembled, and the Marquis de Bedmar demanded audience. It was granted him out of mere curiosity. The noise of the conspiracy was then spread over the city, and occasion'd a dreadful disorder. The people, who had a confus'd notion that the Spaniards were the authors of it, got together about the ambassador's palace, in order to break into it, and were ready to set it on fire, when they who were to conduct him to audience, arriv'd. They made known their commission; and the people flattering themselves with hopes that the senate wou'd inflict on him an exemplary punishment, suffer'd him to go, and attended him with all the injuries and imprecations imaginable.

The ambassador being entered into the senate, began with bitter complaints against the violence which had been committed in his house, contrary to the law
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of nations; and accompanied his complaints with such haughty and furious menaces of revenge, that the major part of the senators were in a consternation, and dreaded lest he had still some invention, which was not known, to accomplish his design. The Doge answered him, that they would excuse that outrage to him, when he had given them the reason of the war-like preparations which were found in the house of him, who, as an ambassador, ought to be a minister of peace. He replied, that he was astonish'd, persons who were esteemed so wise, should be so weak as to insult him to his face on so gross a pretence; that they knew as well as he did, that all these provisions were but deposited in his house, as had been done formerly, in order to be sent to Naples and Tirol; that as for the arms, all the world knew there were none so good as those which were made in the towns belonging to the Republick, and that for the fire-works and other things of that kind, some work-men of an extraordinary skill having offer'd themselves to him, he had been induc'd to employ them out of curiosity. The Doge interrupting him, told him those work-men were profligate wretches, or rather monsters, born for the everlasting shame of mankind; and as he spoke those words he presented to the ambassador a letter of credit to the governor of Milan, which had been found among Renault's papers, with other letters from the Duke of Ossuna. He had declar'd his sentiments before, that he knew nothing of his conduct; and as for the letter of credit, it was true the French ambassador had recommended to him a gentleman some time ago, who stood in need of favour at Milan for a particular affair, and he had given that man the letter they shew'd him; but that he was wholly ignorant that the Republick was any way concern'd in that affair. The Doge seeing by his replies, that the ambassador would never want an answer, contented himself with representing to him very strongly the blackness of his enterprise, and concluded with protesting they were all very far from thinking the King his master had the least hand in it. The ambassador reply'd to this remonstrance

monstrance with all the transport of a man of worth, whose honour is attack'd unjustly ; that he was of a nation to which bravery and prudence were so natural, that they had no need to have recourse to ill artifices to ruin their enemies ; that the King his master was powerful enough to destroy them by open force, and without making use of treacheries, as might very shortly appear.

He went out abruptly after these words, without any ceremony ; they who conducted him, begg'd him to rest himself a little in an apartment just by, till the senate had given the necessary orders for his safety ; and he suffer'd himself to be conducted where they pleas'd, raging with anger, and without making any answer. While the populace was got together in the place to tear him to pieces when the senate should deliver him up ; it was easy to those who were sent to his house with a strong guard, to ship off his domesticks, and his most valuable furniture ; after which they came to fetch him, and conducted him thro' private passages of the palace to a brigantine well arm'd, and attended with a good convoy.

The people, enrag'd at his escape, made images of him and the Duke of Ossuna, to which they did all that they would have done to their persons, if they had been in their power. Orders were sent at the same time to the general to sea, to drown l'Anglade, the captain Jacques Pierre, and all the trusty officers the captain had on board his ships. As it was suppos'd they would be upon their guard, they chose a vessel of the strangest and most unusual form that could be found at Venice to carry the order ; it was equipp'd after the most likely manner to make it be thought not to come from thence, and it took a large compass about, to arrive from the contrary side to that it ought, if it came from Venice. It was known afterwards that the captain had been all the night in expectation, and seeing this vessel arrive, he retir'd immediately into the largest of his ships, as if he had suspected the truth, and was for putting himself in a condition to make a defence in case he was betray'd.

But

But it is probable that the fear of ruining all thro' a terror which might be merely a panick, stop'd him some time, to deliberate whether he ought to declare himself or not; for the general, who did not lose a moment, having sent to him two chosen men, and no way suspected, they enter'd without arms as to appearance, into the place where he was, and found him alone, and accosting him with an air as free as usual, poniarded him on a sudden, and flung him into the sea, without any one's perceiving it. l'Anglade and forty of his officers were serv'd after the same manner, and with the same secrecy.

In the mean time Renault being interrogated at Venice, answer'd, that he knew not what they meant. They shew'd him the letter of credit to Don Pedro, a passport in Spanish for all the countries under the obedience of Spain, bills of exchange for great sums, and a thousand pistoles besides. He said that he knew neither the Spanish ambassador, nor the governor of Milan; and therefore if there was any thing amongst his papers relating to them, it must have been put there by some body else; and as for the bills of exchange, and the pistoles, they were all that he was worth in the world. They put him on the ordinary and extraordinary rack; but he said nothing farther, unless that he was a poor old man, of worth, quality, and honour, and that God would revenge him. The rack was brought before him for several days following, and even impunity was promis'd him, if he would confess all that he knew; but to no purpose. And after having been tortur'd in all the forms at several times, he was at last strangled in prison, and hung up publicly by one foot, as a traytor. The lieutenant of the Count de Nassau, the three petardeers, Bribe, Laurence Brulard, and the two officers of the arsenal, were hung in the same manner, after having suffer'd the rack with the same constancy; but Brainville, Theodor and above three hundred officers, were only strangled or drowned privately.

Jaffier in the mean while being enrag'd at the ill success of his compassion, made loud complaints that
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the Council of Ten did not keep their promise with him in favour of his companions. It had not been violated, but after a mature deliberation. Nay, several were for having it religiously observ'd; others remonstrated, that if the conspiracy had been made known by Jaffier only, it might have been a question, but two natives of Dauphiny having also reveal'd it, the senate were at full liberty to act after the same manner as if Jaffier had made no discovery. This advice carry'd it, being supported by the horror and publick fright, tho' many things might have been urg'd to the contrary. They endeavour'd to appease Jaffier by all sorts of means: they offer'd him money, and employment; he refus'd all, and inflexibly requir'd the lives of his companions in vain, and at last left Venice quite inconsolable for their execution. The senate hearing this, sent him an order to quit the states belonging to the Republick in three days, at the peril of his life, and four thousand sequins which they forc'd him to take. The pity he felt for his companions redoubled upon him, as often as he reflected that he had been the cause of their death: he understood, as he was travelling, that the design against Brescia was still in a condition to succeed: the desire of being reveng'd on the senate, made him fling himself into that town, but he was hardly got there, when the Council of Ten having found out that affair by the papers of the conspirators, sent thither some troops, who took possession of the principal posts, and put several Spaniards who had been introduc'd there to the sword. Jaffier was taken fighting at the head of them, like a man who only seeks to sell his life dearly, and being brought back to Venice a few days after, he was drowned there, the next day after his arrival.

The death of this unhappy wretch having fully restor'd tranquillity to this noble city, the first care of the senate was to demand another ambassador at Madrid; Don Lewis Bravo was accordingly nominated for that employment, with orders to set out immediately; and the Marquis de Bedmar gave him, according

ording to custom, an instruction, which might be reduc'd almost to these two points. The first was, that the new ambassador should upon all occasions vehemently blame the conduct of his predecessor, and affect to follow the quite contrary, even in the most indifferent things. The other point was, that in all matters he should have to negotiate relating to the rights and preeminences of the Republick, he should make use, instead of all other memoirs, of the *Squitinio della Liberta Veneta*, to which the Marquis refer'd him in several places of this instruction, and in terms, which, tho' modest, discover sufficiently the paternal fondness he had for that libel. In the mean while was publish'd, by sound of trumpet, and in writing, thro' all the territories of the Republick, a prohibition under pain of death, to impute any part of the conspiracy to the King of Spain, or the Spaniards. Thirty thousand ducats were given to the two natives of Dauphiny, who came from their own country to discover it; Don Pedro seeing all things past retrieval, made an end to disband his troops, and restor'd Vercelli. The Duke of Ossuna gave considerable presents to the wife and children of the captain, when he set them at liberty; and the Marquis de Bedmar had an order from Spain, to go and serve as first minister in Flanders, and some years after he receiv'd a Cardinal's hat from Rome.

T H E E N D.

Presented to Master
D. Palmer from his
affectionate school
J. Lawler —

As a small token
of his regard
April the 10

1838



